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On the Scandinavian Elements in the English Race.

BY J. FREDERICK HODGETTS.

FN the district of Angeln, in Denmark, there was a tribe of Scandinavians, which, borne hither by the resistless wave of migration westwards, has filled the world with grand ideas of the reality and importance of absolute freedom, justice and honour. This tribe came to Britain in the fifth century of the Christian era, and found the island a Roman province, abandoned by the Romans to the people from whom they had taken it, and to whom they had contrived to impart a little surface-polish of Roman civilization. Deadly foes to Rome, hating her imperial tendencies, despising her vice and luxury, the Angliski were not likely to show the Kelts any particular consideration on the strength of their Roman assumptions. On the contrary, it seems to have enraged them against the Britons, against whom they waged a long war of extermination, driving them to the hills and into the sea, stamping them out with greater fierceness than the other Scandinavians drove out the Finns and other dwellers in the North, and took possession of their lands. Precisely in the same way they guarded themselves from admixture of race with the Britons as the Swedes did with the Lapps, Estonians and Livonians. Travelling in the Baltic provinces of Russia, which were until a comparatively recent period under the dominion of the Swedes, we are struck at finding not the slightest trace of Teutonic influence among the Estonians or among the Letts. Their language, dress,

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customs and feelings are even more national and unaffected by the conquest of their old Scandinavian masters than those of the Welsh of our own time.

Like the other Scandinavian conquerors already alluded to, we, on our first arrival in Britain, adopted *not a word* from the language of the conquered race. Even the topographical nomenclature of Kelt and Roman was rejected by the Englishman, precisely as he rejected the indigenous names in America twelve hundred years afterwards, calling the various places in which he formed settlements in the New World after localities with which he had been familiar in the Old. The early English called their new homes in Britain by the names of beloved spots in Angeln or Jutland, precisely as the "Pilgrim Fathers" created their New York, Boston, Waltham, etc., in the savage West, showing how England was with them even there. It is true that some places held their own against the English in Britain, as some do now in Australia and America; but the number is small in comparison with the prevailing names in the island, and is confined chiefly to the names of mountains and rivers. Hence the difficulty of identifying the names of localities in Sagas, many of which may refer to places colonized by Scandinavians in other parts of the world, and designated in memory of places in Scandinavia proper. In Beowulf, for example, we have names of places identical in the Scandinavian home of the epic, and in the more recent Britain. The Halle Herot and the lake of the Grendel are to be found quite as accurately at Hartlepool as in Denmark.

Doubtless the physical configuration of that part of Durham which still bears evidence in its local names of having once been the home of the *Skyldings*, from *Shield*s to Hartlepool, is as suggestive of Beowulf as any part of Scandinavia can be, and may long continue to convince the English antiquary of the indigenous nature of the poem, as similar scenery convinces the Danes that it is Danish throughout.

But besides the names given by the new comers to new homes, reminding them of those they left behind them, the English warriors of the fifth and sixth centuries were in the habit of bestowing their own names

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and those of their followers on places of which they took possession. Hence many places in England bear the names of Horse and Hengest, Horsey Hill, Horsegate, Horsefield, Horseton, Horsley, Horsall, Horsell, Horsham, Horsepool, Horsecliff, and hundreds more. In like manner and to the same extent the name of Hengest is preserved all through the north-east of England, in Hengestsheale, Hinshill, Hinkley, Hinckford, Hinxtion, Hixworth, Henstridge, (Hengesteshrig) Hensting, Hengston, and others. Nor are the names of such places confined to these two heroes; their cousins, Ossa and Octa, have left their traces all over England.

Ebba and Swane, both connected with Hengist and Horsa, are still celebrated and their names perpetuated in the same way in Ebbesfleet, Ebbesbourne, Ebbington, Swannick, Swanton, Swanthorpe, Swanborough, Swanage, Swansea, etc. In some cases the names, of individuals connected with the two chiefs Hengist and Horsa, are found in groups in various parts of the country.

The suffixes tun, wick, ey, ed, ham, bury, chester, head, ness, stow, holm, holt,hurst, shire, by, grove, field, ley, worth, stead, ford, borough, thorp, burn, mouth, lock, bridge, gate, stone, stol, ton, or, are all Anglo-Saxon *substantives*, none of which have been borrowed from any foreign source. As this list includes the terminals of nearly all places in England and of many in Scotland, I subjoin a very brief explanation of each. Bury is the Anglo-Saxon *burh* (the *h* a strong guttural), a town, city, or fort; German *burg*; Swedish *borg*. Borough is another form of the same word. Bridge is the modern form of *brig*. Burn, or bourn, is burn a stream, brook or river, also fountain and well. By is a habitation or dwelling, Swedish and Danish *by*. Chester is the Saxon *Ceastere*, from *cest* a conflict, and the feminine termination *stere*. The word *ces* has another meaning of enclosure. Thus the whole word signifies, "she who encloses for (or from) strife," i.e., a town or fort. After very careful search through the Chronicle (MS. Tiberius, A vi.), Beowulf and other MSS., in which I have been most kindly assisted by my friend Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, Senior Assistant Keeper of the MSS. British Museum, I have come to the

conclusion that the attribution of this word to a Latin source identifying it with *castra* is not so in accordance with the evidence I have seen as the explanation above given. My theory is further borne out by two important points: first, that in the Scandinavian languages the letter K is pronounced as our K in king before a, o, u; while before e, i, y, æ, and œ, it has the sound of our CH in church, which accounts for the ch pronunciation of *cestere*—chestere. In the irregular orthography of some MSS. we find the word written *cestere*, the pronunciation of which would in some parts of the island have been identical in sound with chestere, but in others it would have resembled the combination *chast* (in chastise), rather than chest. This accounts for the phenomenon in Doncaster and Lancaster of the æ having become written a. The second point is that *no* Roman name of any place in Britain ever ended in *castra* or *castrum*. I have carefully looked over *all* the local names so ending in English, and have invariably found something totally different as a Roman equivalent. Again, the word occurs in Beowulf, where Dr. Johnson himself would fail to find a trace of Latin taint, and where the stoutest Latinist admits no Latin word has had the possibility of creeping in. *Ed* or *æ* is simply a river. *Ey* is an island. Here again our orthography is at fault. This word has no connection with *insula*. It is the Scandinavian ö and å, both meaning, of themselves, island. We meet the ö in the Far-öe, and we find å in Åland. The Anglo-Saxon forms of this word are œ, æg, and ig; this g becomes y by the usual law. Our word should be written "iland" as it is pronounced. The s has crept in from false analogy with the Norman "isle" (from *insula*), by the carelessness of scribes. In the chronicle it stands "igland," pronounced i-land.

Thus Thorney, or Thorney, is the island of thornes. Orkney, the island of goblins, etc. This termination, thanks to our wonderful system of orthography, is constantly being confounded with (*sic*) a river, so often used to denote places on a river, as Chelsea, Battersea and many others. Field and ford are too evident to need explanation. Gate is, originally, nearly equivalent to the Saxon *strat*, our street, meaning a stretched-out way or

road. In modern Swedish, *gata* is road or street. Grove is the Anglo-Saxon *graf*. Ham is Anglo-Saxon *ham*, pronounced home, English home. Holm means an island in a river, and also the ocean; but for English nomenclature the first sense is the only one available. Holt is wood, German *holz*. Hurst is the German *horst*, a small thicket. Leigh, or ley, is the Anglo-Saxon *leagh, leah, lag, lah* (Sanskrit *lag*, Latin *lex*), law, and by derivation a place settled by law, or in which a given law prevailed. Most probably, however, the idea of *place* was the primary meaning. The modern signification of meadow-land seems to have crept in by usage at a late period. The combination meadow-lea is often met with; this shows that lea had not the sense of meadow, but of land legally set apart for use as a meadow. Lock is simply an enclosure shut off from something else—other land. Mouth is the mouth of a river. Ness, a promontory, or cape. Ore, a border, or boundary. Stead, a place. Ston, or stan, a stone. Shire is the old *scir*, or *seyr*, meaning a share, something cut off or divided, from *sciran*, to cut off, English shear. Ton, or tun, is the modern town, cognate with the German *zaun*, a railing or palisade enclosing or protecting a house or grounds, having the same value as chester. Thorp is a village; Swedish and Danish *torp*, Dutch *dorp*. Wick: the old *wic*, or *wyc*, has the signification of a regular habitation extending beyond the idea of house, meaning rather village, camp, or station, also a safe bay for ships, a harbour; hence the *vikings*. Worth is very similar, meaning land, a farm, a street, a public way, a hall, a palace, and finally a shore; hence Worthing. Wold resembles the German *wald*, a wood or forest; also written *weald*. Y is the same as ey, an island. Street is derived from *streccan*, *Imperfect strehte, gestreht* (German *strecken, strecke, gestreckt*), to stretch out, to extend. In Yorkshire a street is called a straight. The word occurs in Beowulf, and in fragments which can have had not the slightest trace of Roman influence. The same word occurs in the older Icelandic as *stræti*. It is purely Scandinavian, having no more connection with the Roman *strata* than is to be expected from the family likeness existing between two Aryan languages. Certainly the Scandinavians, who never received

the faintest tincture of Roman manners, customs, or speech, did not borrow their *Heer-streiti*, or High Street (from *heer*, an army), from the Romans, any more than they took the idea of Thor, the god of thunder, from *Jupiter tonans!* That there are strong points of analogy between the two systems of religion only points to their common descent from one original and pure form of belief and speech, to which comparative philology and comparative mythology both point.

The unlucky word *Barbar*—which to the Greek meant “not a Greek,” to the Roman, “not a Roman”—had originally not much more significance than our word *foreigner*: and yet it came to imply a savage, void of letters, ignorant of the arts, brutal, coarse and disgusting. The Teutons had as good a word for the Greeks and Romans, whom they contemptuously termed *Welsh* (German *Wälsch*). Nor did the term apply to these classic nations only; it was used in reference to all who had been influenced by them, or who had adopted Roman arts, Roman customs, and above all, Roman speech. Hence the English invaders of Britain, with true English contempt for what they did not understand, called the language and the people of Britain *Welsh*, because the Britons had been Romanized. As much contempt was entertained by the Scandinavian Teuton for the Welsh, or Romans, as by Imperial Rome for the Barbarians. It has been the fashion for scholars, in writing of the Goths and Germans, to look upon them as from a Roman point of view, though they themselves in name and origin may be as un-Roman (therefore as barbarous) as *Johnson*. It has been long the custom to ignore any culture but what emanated from Rome, to despise all literature but the Greek and Roman, and to learn no language in youth but Greek and Latin. We have been learning Latin when we ought to have been learning Anglo-Saxon for our *copia verborum*, and we have shut our eyes to the fact that the Scandinavian who came to Britain was, in his way, as cultivated as the Roman. He was *not* a savage; he brought with him a religious *culte* more pure, more refined and more manly than the old belief of the Romans had been. These northern warriors were

earnest, brave, serious, and men of their word to an extent which had provoked the Roman sneer on occasion of a soldier who had gambled away his all, staking at last his liberty, and, losing that, going off into voluntary slavery with the winner, whom a blow from his stalwart first would have paid for ever.

The system of education which could have produced such results as we read of everywhere upon the Goths and Teutons, must have been very thorough, and the religious *culte* was extremely simple and extremely pure to tame so perfectly such fierce and haughty natures as the sons of Odin; and I maintain, therefore, that this part of the history of our development is of the utmost importance to us.

In the homes of the Scandinavians a very peculiar system of education was pursued. The nobles, being engaged in war and other active amusements, had but little time or inclination for playing the part of schoolmaster. The younger branches were accordingly placed under the care of wise old men, generally of the middle class, who had a taste for a life of peace. To these persons the sons of the warrior lords were confided, and their duty was to teach their pupils riding, rowing, shooting with the javelin, and all kinds of athletic exercises befitting young warriors; besides which they had to instruct them in the creed of their ancestors, the sagas of the heroes and demi-gods from whom they were descended; and last, not least, they taught them to carve and read runic inscriptions. Sometimes this yeoman was not so very old, and the son of a yarl or konung would be given to his wife at a very early age—indeed, early enough for her to supply the maternal nourishment which his own mother had been unable to give. This was a rare case, as a Scandinavian lady thought it a humiliation to be unable to nurse her own children. But whether the yeoman's wife had nursed the son of the yarl, or the young noble had only been entrusted to the family for educational purposes, the yeoman's son, who had the privilege of being educated with the yarl's son, regarded him as his "foster-brother," and the tie thus formed was held sacred to the death, each being bound to avenge the death of the

other, each addressing the other as "thou." At a certain period—from the fifteenth to the sixteenth year of their age—the two boys performed a very solemn and certainly very weird ceremony. Not being related by blood, but yet being bound by a tie almost as sacred, they contrived to establish blood relationship by opening a vein in the left arm of each, and binding the two arms together at the point where the incision in each had been made, they conceived that some particles of the blood of each would enter the system of the other and render their relationship complete. They are supposed to have sat with the left arms bound and resting on a little table, while, during the given number of hours required to effect this peculiar inoculation of fraternity, the old yeoman would recite verses from the "Völuspá," and other hymns of the *Edda*, alternating these with stories of the heroes of their faith, the "Hjeltar" and "Vikingar," whose fame they were in after-life to emulate, while from time to time they were refreshed with draughts of mead from the same horn. From this custom has descended the fashion prevalent among students in Scandinavian Universities of drinking "*du skål*," or "*thou health*," with the left arm of each locked in the left arm of the new brother. From thenceforth the new-made brothers address each other as "thou." The use of "thou" is also a privilege among the Burschenschaft of the German schools.

To return to the yarl's son and the son of the bondé, or yeoman. When brotherhood had been thus solemnly established between them, they became inseparable for life; but this did not affect the social position or *caste* that had already existed. The young earl did not become a yeoman or lose *caste* in any way; nor did the yeoman attain nobility by the step. In battle he had the right to stand, or ride, near his brother-master; but he had no right to command, unless nominated by the noble as his lieutenant on special service. This, however, was frequently done; and as often the helm of the Dragon-ship was put into his hands, for we must remember that the education of these youths was strictly amphibious.

During the summer the boys were exercised in swimming, and in the use of the

sword as well on *terra firma* as on the water and even *in* it ; for from the contests related as taking place between heroes and water-spirits, we are shown that they were taught the use of the weapon while swimming, an accomplishment involving a degree of familiarity with the element never or very rarely attained at the present day. Anybody can learn to swim, but to become so completely at home in the water as to be able to bestow his whole attention on the management of the weapon, presupposes a proficiency in the art of swimming which is never attained in these times. The arts of sailing and rowing came later, and it would seem, although I cannot find the statement actually made anywhere, that instruction in ship and boat building formed part of the curriculum. The keels or ships were constructed with high prows fashioned into the form of a Dragon's head and neck ; hence the word "Draké" came almost to lose its original signification, and to apply solely to the ship. The stern was raised in the same way to represent the tail of the monster, and was often richly ornamented with silver scales. A wealthy yarl, who was in the habit of giving golden bracelets to his bravest warriors, would sometimes reward his Dragon for some daring deed on the ocean by gifts of gold rings large enough to adorn the *neck* or prow of the ship. To this feeling may be traced the pride of men-of-war's men in Nelson's time in adorning the figure-head, which was frequently richly gilt.

Whether the boys were taught ship-building or not, they were soon made familiar with sailing, and with the huge oars or "sweeps" with which the great ships were propelled when the wind dropped.

But the "Sea Horse" was not the only horse they were taught to manage. From almost infancy they were accustomed to leap on to the backs of small horses unprovided with saddles, and the young aspirants for military fame were expected to perform almost as many equestrian feats as one would expect to see in a fashionable *cirque* at Paris. From these smaller pony-like horses they were gradually advanced until they could ride the "bitted whirlwinds" that bore the warriors in mortal fight.

The chief weapons, the use of which

formed part of the education of northern gentlemen, were the sword and the *gàr*, a kind of spear or javelin. The length of the sword seems to have varied from two to three feet. Frey's sword is described as "*blot en aln längt*," only an ell in length ; while Odin's sword is very broad, and so long that he could rest his clasped hands upon it. In one of the hymns the shortness of Frey's blade is referred to as being sufficient for him who was brave enough to approach close to the foe ; "for him who is *not*, any sword would be too short," is the quaint comment, reminding one involuntarily of Sir Lucius O'Trigger's famous dictum that "two or three feet between the mouths of the pistols is as good as a mile !"

Having acquired proficiency in the use of the sword and javelin, the youthful warrior was next initiated into the handling of the spear, or *spjöt*, and shield. The former was a formidable weapon, the prototype of the modern lance ; the shaft was of the sacred ash, dear to Odin and full of mystic teachings for his followers. What was in after ages called "a forest of lances," was then called the "grey ash wood."

Although the battle-axe played so prominent a part in the history of Scandinavian warfare, we find no mention of the period in the course of training pursued by the young warrior when he was taught to wield this murderous weapon ; yet it must have been a general favourite all through the North : and the Saxons would have defeated the Normans at Hastings by dint of their skill with the axe, but for having been drawn from their position by a *ruse de guerre* on the part of the enemy. Such dexterity did they acquire with this fearful weapon that they were able to shear off the spear-heads of the foe in battle ; and this points to special training. In the older sagas and legends the axe is mentioned as the "Bill." The form of the double-axe was terrific enough, having two faces ; and it is said by one of the Swedish writers (I think Geyer, but I have not his works at hand to refer to) that the Danes, who were specially famous for wielding it, were particularly clever in delivering a back-handed cut *upwards*, with which they sheared off the heads of the enemies' lances. The full crashing blow delivered on the helmet of

the antagonist was irresistible. All this must have involved careful training, but save the passage above referred to I know of no remarks definitely implying such a system.

Among the early Scandinavians the bow does not seem to have stood in very high repute. It was resorted to in the chase, and thenchiefly by peasants for shooting birds. The nobler game, such as the bear and the elk, were attacked with javelins, and broad-headed spears called *spjot, spjöt* (our spear), similar to the weapon for war. Occasionally the animal, or a part of it at least, was roasted on the very spear by which it died. The German name for this weapon was "spieß," whence the name for the roasting-spit is to this day *spiess* in German, and *spit* (*spjot*) in English. During the early days of the English in Britain, the bow seems rarely mentioned; the only passages that I know of, in which it is referred to, are in the *Codex Exoniensis*. The first of these passages treats the bow with marked contempt:

Skyld skeal kempan,	A shield shall be for the warrior,
Skeafst reafere,	An arrow for the robber,
Skeal bryde beag,	A ring shall be for the bride,
Becleornere,	Books for the learners,
Hūsl halgum men';	Housel for holy men;
evidently consigning it to the use of the bandit as an apt mode of slaying his enemy without exposing himself to danger. It does not seem to have been used in war by the Scandinavians at all. In another part of the same Exeter book, in a religious poem, we find:	
Sumu wigeth sped	To some military good fortune
Giefeth æt guthæ,	In war he giveth,
Thōn gār getrum,	Where the javelin band,
Ofer skyld hreadan	Over the shield's defence
Skeotend, sendath	Shooting, send
Flakor flān geweork.	Flakes of arrows wrought.

This is a rare instance of the use of the arrow in war; but there are many proofs of the employment of the arrow as a weapon for the chase, especially against birds.

The Scandinavians were much more addicted to hunting than the people of the South, and at last the nobles and princes of the North usurped the right of chase until by degrees the people were entirely deprived of it, a circumstance perpetuated in our game laws.

From the earliest times hunting was considered as an important part of the education

of a gentleman. Asser, in speaking of Alfred, describes him as an expert hunter before he attained his twelfth year of age; and it is subsequently mentioned that whenever a temporary peace gave leisure for relaxation, hunting was the favourite pastime followed by the nobility. To ride with a hawk on the wrist was an old Scandinavian distinction, and one which was carried to Britain by the English, and to France by the Normans.

The Saxon or English shield was circular, and convex. In the centre was a boss of metal. The outer ring or border was beaten backward so as to cover the wood of which the body of the shield was composed, and to form a metal rim. We read in Scandinavian stories of such outer rims being of gold. The whole description reminds the reader of the target used in archery, while the structure of the shield itself seems to have resembled that of the Highland target worn in the last century in form, though much larger in size. The Anglo-Saxon shields were, as has been mentioned, of wood, covered with the hide of some animal, which was fastened to the wood by nails or rivets. The favourite wood was that of the linden-tree. Hence, in poetic language, the line of battle is periphrastically called the "Linden Grove;" the sound of the sword on the shield is called "The song of the linden;" and the warriors themselves called this important part of their equipment the "lind," or "linden." Under this name it is frequently mentioned in Beowulf, and in fact in all Saxon poetic writings. In size the Scandinavian shield greatly exceeded that of the Highland target, inasmuch as a wounded warrior could be borne off the field in his shield, like the Spartan, whose mother, presenting a shield, used the words, "*Aut hoc, aut in hoc.*" The helmet, or helm-hat, was a leathern cap, strengthened by the addition of metallic rings for defence in war. The chief ring, generally of iron, went round what we should call the rim of the cap, or that part immediately encircling the head. To this lower rim, as to a base or fundament, two half-hoops of metal were affixed in such a manner as to cross each other at the apex, and form thus a sort of skeleton helmet outside the leathern cap, much as the hoops of the modern crown pass over the cap below. The lower ring, or band,

was sometimes further adorned by the addition of a circlet of gold, which when narrow indicated the thane, when broad the Earl; while the royal function was displayed by the addition of small triangular pieces of gold fixed to the ring, and so forming what modern heralds would call an inwreathed coronet. The half-hoop coming to the forehead became prolonged into a nasal guard for the face, which piece was called the *grim*, and such a helmet was termed a grim-helm. The leather of the cap below was either blue or red; and when worn without the iron protection of hoops, ring and grim was ornamented with a sort of comb or crest. There are very few remains of actual Saxon helmets, because of the perishable nature of the materials; but the representations in MSS., and the descent to us of the kyning helm, or crown, with its golden hoops crossing each other as the iron rings intersected in the old time, concur in showing what these pieces of defensive armour were like.* And they again show us, reflexively, whence our proudest distinctions of nobility are derived.

On account of Odin having assumed the wings of an eagle to escape from the hold of a certain giantess, the Scandinavian warrior, at the period of his career supposed to be the maturity of his wisdom and valour, the Odin's day or Wodensday of his mortal progress, was distinguished by bearing two eagle-wings, one on each side of his helmet, which towering high above his head, and bending somewhat backwards, imparted a haughty martial bearing to the man, reminding us of that of a life-guardsman of the present day.

(To be continued.)



London Rogues and Relief of Distress Three Centuries Ago.

BY DR. CHARLES GROSS.

FHE present distress of the labouring man and the recent concomitant prominence of London "rogues" recall a somewhat similar crisis in the corresponding decade of the sixteenth cen-

* In Jewitt's *Grave-Mounds and their Contents* there is a representation of the iron guards of such a helmet with a boar as a crest.

tury. It is interesting to note what measures were taken by the local authorities three hundred years ago to relieve the poor, and, above all, to suppress the rogues. The following are the more important sections of the "Orders appointed to be executed in the Cittie of London, for setting roges and idle persons to worke, and for releefe of the poore."*

"1. For releefe of the poore, and for setting to worke of vagaraunt people, there are to be set up in Bridewell certain artes, occupations, workes and labours.

"2. There are to be provided stocke & tooles for those workes. There is to be provided bedding, apparrell, and dyet for those poore to be set to worke.

"3. When order shalbe taken and sufficient provision had for the furniture of the workes, Proclamation shall bee made throughout the City, that all vagarants which are come out of other places, where by the law they ought to be provided for, shall depart the Cittie and the libertie thereof, to the places of their byrth or last abode according to the Law, upon the paines thereof due.

"4. Within convenient time after the day limited by such Proclamation a generall search shalbe made, and lykewise new generall searches from time to time as shalbe requisite, throughout the Cittie and the libertie thereof at one instant, & all the vagarants that shalbe there founde shall be brought to Bridewell to be examined."

"8. Those whom the Cittie by Law is charged to provide for and are able to work, shalbe received into Bridewell, and there kept with thin diet, onely sufficing to sustaine them in health, and shalbe set to work in such of the workes, labours and occupations as they shall be found fittest for.

"9. If any such shall loyter and wyl not doo such labor as in reason they ought and as is doone by other of like capacitie and strength, they shall be punished in Bridewell as is used by the discretion of the Governoours."

"19. That Proclamation be made that every Citizen shal have charge on paine of iii. s. iii. d. and every other person shalbe required, to bryng or cause to bee brought to

* "At London. Printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Smithfield, at the signe of the Golden Tunne."—These Orders were made by the Court of Common Council, August 4th, 1579. The numbering of the sections in the Guildhall MS. differs from that adopted in the text.

the Constable or his Deputie or to the Bedle of the Warde or other Bedle every such vagrant as shall beg of them in the Parish where such citizens or other doo dwell: that such vagrant may by such Constable or his deputie or by the Bedle be sent to Bridewell to be examined and used as is above sayd."

"24. For avoyding the returne of idle vagarants, and for better reformation of the idle youth and unthriftie poore in this Citie and for further execution of the premisses, every Alderman or his Deputie in his ward assisted wyth a sufficient steward shall keepe his Court of Wardmote once in every month for the first yeare now ensuing, and in other yeeres once in every three monethes, on payne to every Alderman for his default or of his sufficient Deputie for him in not keeping the sayd Court XL. s. to the like use of the poore. And all the inhabitants shall there appeare or be amerced for their defaultes, and oute of the saide amercements and profites of Court the steward shalbe rewarded with reasonable fee by the discretion of the Alderman, and the rest shalbe to the sayd use of the poore.

"25. By the Inquest shalbe there enquired, if [there be any] idle persons, roges, vagabunds, and other suspect persons which lyve disorderly or suspicuously or spend their times at Bowling allies, playes, and other places unthriftily: & whether the meane officers doo their dueties, and all other matters, as in the charge of leetes: and that speedy processe be used according to the law for the reformation without delay."

"28. In every parish a general survey to be made, by the Constable, Churchwardens, Collectors for the poore and vi. other of the Parishners of all their poore and needye neighbors of the Parish *viz.* of every house particularly, the names of the dwellers, the children and seruautes, the sexe and age of every one, and which be able to labour and whereupon, and who be utterly impotent to any labour.

"29. Nopension or other releefe to be given to any which are idle, being able to labor. And such as will labour and have not nor can provide to set themselves to worke, making their mone to the Churchwardens or Collectors for the poore, may by a Bill to be signed with the hands of the sayd Churchwardens or

Collectors, or any two of them and three other parishoners, have work appoynted or delivered them at Bridewell, or els where.

"30. None of the poore, or their children be suffered to begg or wander in the streeches, but be exercised upon meete labor toward the getting of their living in honest sort.

"31. In every parish all the poore houses shall be at convenient times visited, daily if it may be, by some one or moe to be appoynted at the vestry to see how they apply theyr work, and the defaults to be certified every sunday to the Churchwardens, and by them to be noted in a book against the next vestry."

"38. To every art, science, or labor in Bridewel be appointed two of the governors of Bridewel to oversee the same, who shall have care to the doing therof as they may answer that charge in credite and conscience.

"39. Foure governors of that house shall attend two hours at the least in every day for examination & direction of such as shalbe brought thereto after the first search & for expedition of other things requisite.

"40. The tresorer with some of the governors of Bridewell shalbe appointed for the providing of corne, bread, victuall, apparel and necessaries for the poore, and to oversee their lodgings and such other things as be needfull.

"41. Of such companies of this City as wel the worshipfull as the inferior as the governors of Bridewel shall find to be requisite according to the qualitie of the artes or labors that are to be overseene, there shalbe appointed persons to attend, so as there may be every day two attending at Bridewell to oversee the workes, and to give knowledge of the defaults which they shal find, to the governors, on paine of xx. shillings to be payed to the wardens if they appoynt not, being therunto required by the space of a weeke before, & on paines of vi. shillings viii. pence to be paid by every of the parties appointed, if he attend not being warned three daies before at the least, the sayd paines to be to the use of the poore in Bridewell and to be levied by distresse.

"42. Where in the Savoy are lodged nightily great numbers of idle wicked persons, cutpurses, cousins, and such other theives, & there in the night are hidden from

officers and in the day do use their rogish life, so that the same place honorably ordeined is by such abuse made a noursery of roges theives idle and dronken persons: for remedy therof, request to be made to the maister of that house, that speciall persons be appoynted to examine such as shall come to lodge as in the Savoy that such be lodged there as be of honest fame, poore men comming up for their sutes or causes, or such as are knownen & can gyve accompt of their labour in the day time, and no other: & if any such lewde roges be founde there, the officers of the Savoy or the Justices to whom it may appertaine may send them to such place as they ought to be sent by lawe."

"49. . . . Artes, Occupations, Labors, and Works to be set up in Bridewell.

The worke in the Milles.

The worke in the Lighter
& unlading of Sand.

The carying of sand.

Making of shooes.

Thicking of Cappes by
hand and foote.

Making of woll Cardes.

Making of Nayles.

Making of gloves.

Making of Combes.

Making of Inkle and
tape.

Making of silke Lace.

Making of Aparrell for
the house.

Spining of wollen yrene.*

Knitting of hose.

Spinning of Linnen
yarne.

Spinning of Candell
weeke.†

Making of Packthreed.

Drawing of wier.

Making of Pinnes.

Making of Pointes.

Making of Knives.

Making of Tennise-
balles.

Making of Bayes.

Making of Feltes.

Picking of woll for Felts.

Or any other that may
fall in practise."

"51. To avoid the perill that the setting a worke of vagrants in the said Artes at Bridewell might be to the overthrow of the worke and to the undoing of poore cittizens houholders, and their families that live by working in the same arts for other, or by retaling of things wrought: Therfore the governours of Bridewell shall consult with the Wardens and discrete men of those companies that use the working or selling of such things as shalbe wrought in Bridewel, as shoomakers and other, that the said companies and their houholders shal deliver their worke to such number in Bridewel as they may with the benefit of their company, and shall pay for the same at reasonable rates to their profit.

"52. Also a note shall be kept in Bridewell of places and persons where and of whome worke may be had, that poore in parishes

* Yarn.

† Candle-wick.

sent thether to require worke may be the better releved."

"54. For the better releefe of the poore, the leather that shalbe founde faulty in this City and seised as forfayted, shall never for any price come to the use of the searchers, or sealers of leather, but shall wholy be to Christes hospital, and Bridewell, to be there made into shooes for the poore, by the poore that shall worke there: and the searchers shall have their portion in money according to the praisement.

"55. Provision is to be made for apparell, bedding, and meate for the sayd poore, for tooles, and for stocke and stufte for the occupations, for making of Milles, and buying of Lighters, for fees and wages of Bedelles and other necessary poore attendauntes: and therfore a competent & sufficient portion of money is to be had, which by an estimate for one yeere accompting for ii, c. [200] persons amounteth about ii, M, l. [£2,000.]"

"57. For the provision of the sayd stock to the accomplishing of the said good works, there may be graunted by the body of this City too fiftenes to be assessed & levied in usuall manner, wherof the one to be paid as speedy as may be, the other at the end of vi. monethes.

"58. Hereunto be added the taxations of all forens inhabiting within the liberties of this City to be assisted according to the statute lately made for erecting of houses, for setting the poore on worke, or els to be contributary in the sayd fiftenes by the rate of their houses."

"65. The Lord maior and aldermen by the request of the governours of Bridewell appoynt some speciall offycers or persons to enquire of goods foren bought and solde wherby Citizens shold otherwise lose the benefit of their trades and become unable to releeve the poore, and part of the forfeitures so to be found may be to the releefe of the poore.

"66. That the preachers be moved at the sermons at the Crosse & other convenient times specially in the terme time, & that other good notorious meanes be used, to require both Citizens, Artificers, and other, and also all farmers and other for husbandry, and gentlemen and other for their kitchins, & other services, to take servants and children

both out of Bridewell and Christs Hospital at their pleasures, with declaration what a charitable deed it shalbe not onely for the releefe of those whom they shall so take into service but also of multitudes of other that shall from time to time be taken into the hospitals in their places, and so be preserved from perishing, with offer also that they shall have them conveniently apparelled & bound with them for any competent number of yeeres, with further declaration that many of them be of toward quallities in readyng, wryting, Grammer, and Musike."



The Introduction of the Potato into England.

THE remembrance of the centenaries of important events, though often in their commemoration made ludicrous by unsuitable demonstrations, has a use when it causes us to examine the accuracy of traditions that have been handed down to us.

The introduction of the potato into these islands is an event now seen to be of the highest importance. Had this been recognized and the history written at the time, with the care and detail which, as we now see, was needed, it would have saved us an immense amount of trouble in research, and much time in growth-experiments and inter-crossing by seeds. Could Raleigh have foreseen the national importance of his gardener setting those tubers from Virginia, he was just the thoughtful man to have given the account in full to its utmost details, and would without doubt have gone as far as he could to institute an inquiry as to how it was the South American plant (as we believe it to be) was cultivated in his own Virginia. But, dwelling on what were to him loftier themes, the receipt of a new plant—sent, so far as we know, for no special reason except that herbarists even then interchanged plants from one country to another—would to him be hardly an episode in his life. To his gardener it might have been an event.

We are now somewhere about the tercentenary of the introduction of the potato. The

date given by somebody and copied by nearly everybody else who writes on potatoes, is 1585 or 1586. Some give 1565, 1597, and even 1623.

A short leader in the *Morning Post* of October 7th appears to have first drawn attention to the fact of our having reached the tercentenary.

It so happens in the course of fitful attention to the subject that, just now, writers in agricultural and gardening journals have, without any reference to the tercentenary, reopened the question of the original home of our cultivated potato.

But we are still without having found any authentic record of the introduction, and we do not know its origin. Out of all the traditions it does not seem possible to evolve a consistent account that shall not discredit some of them. No serious attempt to do this appears to have been undertaken by those who have again and again reproduced the traditions. That Raleigh was not personally concerned in the introduction is, however, certain.

There are many points not yet settled. Some of them, it is hoped, may be decided by the experiments of physiological botanists, which it would be hardly in place to refer to here. It may suffice to mention two questions. One is, how did the potato (the *Solanum tuberosum*, as Linnaeus* decided to call it) get extended in cultivation from Peru to North America? By Aztecs, or by Spaniards, or by some tribes the writer of *Hiawatha* had overlooked?† Research in the old libraries of Spain may possibly yet furnish some information. A more complete study of Mexican antiquities may help. Our knowledge here is still very imperfect. Another is, what were the general sizes of the tubers of the potato in Raleigh's time? Here antiquaries and bibliographers, especially those acquainted with the history of the production of *Kreuterbuchs*, may very probably help.

It appears that the first extant published figure of the potato is that given in Gerard's *Herbal* of 1597. The next seems to be 1598, in Bauhin's *Matthiolus*. Then follow Clusius (*Rar. Plant. Hist.*) 1601, *Hortus Eystettensis* (1613); Bauhin's *Prodromus*, 1620, and

* Retaining Bauhin's name.

† See De Candolle's *Origin of Cultivated Plants*.

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Parkinson's *Paradisus*, 1629. The tubers in Gerard (p. 781) are represented as very little larger than the apple. Leaving Raleigh's introduction of the plant out of consideration for the present, to which attention may be afterwards paid, there are several interesting questions to ask about this woodcut. The three most important are: What is its value as regards accuracy? Was it especially cut for the *Herbal*? And from what plant was the drawing made?

For the convenience of those not acquainted with the history of the subject, it may be well to consider the second question first—Was the woodcut especially made for the *Herbal*? The book was published by John Norton, and probably "at his charge." Besides the original edition of 1597 there was another brought out after Gerard's death, in 1633, "amended" by Thomas Johnson. This was published by Adam Islip, Joice Norton, and Richard Whitaker. For some reason there are twenty-five cuts not the same as in the first edition. The cut of the potato is one of these, so that Gerard's cut appears in the *Herbal* of 1597, but not in 1633. This is a point that does not seem to have received attention before. If anything is known of Norton, perhaps some information may be gained of his dealings with continental publishers and of his books being left to his successors. There was a reprint of Johnson's edition in 1636.

Johnson, in the last three pages of his introductory matter, headed "To the Reader," tells us a good deal of how the *Herbal* was produced; and the tender way in which he alludes to Gerard's inefficiency must ensure our regard. That the text was almost entirely a translation of Dodonæus made by Dr. Priest is a matter that does not affect the present question. But he tells us that the woodcuts were obtained by Mr. Norton from Frankfort and other places, and that they were the blocks that had been used for *Tabernæmontanus* (1583), a Latinized addition to his Latinized name, Jacobus Theodorus. The publisher was Nicolas Basseus.

Whether the blocks were cut for *Tabernæmontanus*, or whether they were collected, need not here be inquired. That question is one that may interest those who are acquainted with the many *Kreuterbuchs* of that period. But that the blocks used for *Tabernæmontanus*

were those used by Norton for Gerard's *Herbal* there seems no doubt. Many, Johnson says, were first put in the wrong places—not necessarily through "printers' errors" (that much-abused cloak for ignorance), but through Gerard's imperfect acquaintance with so wide a range of subject as he dealt with. But they were used. The department of Botany in the Museum, officially called British Museum—Natural History, Cromwell Road, possesses a copy of the *Herbal*, in which Petiver has made MS. references to the pages of *Tabernæmontanus* on which the figures are given.

But there are some woodcuts in the *Herbal* which are not in *Tabernæmontanus*. How many? and were they from some other book, or especially cut? The writer has not troubled to go into the wider question, how many? but has confined his attention to the cut of the potato only. Mr. B. Daydon Jackson, however, in his life of Gerard, prefixed to his privately circulated reprint of the two catalogues (1596 and 1599), gives the number of cuts at about 1,800 (the writer has not counted them), and adds that the new cuts are sixteen. One hundred and thirty-one cuts are said to have come from Clusius or some other source.

Sprengel (*Hist. rei Herb.*, p. 466) professes to give a complete list of the new cuts in the *Herbal*; but in his list (25 in all) the potato is not included.* Taking Sprengel as an authority, the cut of the potato was not new. Here the writer believes Sprengel has made an oversight; and these are the reasons for that belief: In the first place, the index to *Tabernæmontanus* contains no one of the names by which the potato has been known. In the next place, among the MS. references in the *Herbal* mentioned above, there is none given with the potato, and the references throughout appear to have been made with care. The date of *Tabernæmontanus* makes it somewhat improbable that a cut should be given, for, though Scholz, in his *Hortus Vratislavia*, published in 1587, mentions the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) as cultivated in the garden at Breslau, it would then be a rarity, and *Tabernæmontanus*'s book was published at 1588.

* Since writing this, I notice it is the "emended" *Herbal* (i.e., Johnson's) to which Sprengel refers. What he omits to mention is, that Johnson gave a different cut, as alluded to here on p. 150.

Then there are the following reasons for its being highly probable the cut was especially made. Gerard appears to have been very proud of his potatoes. While his sweet potatoes he had bought at the Exchange, these he had received from Virginia. He had grown some in his own garden, that garden which he had somewhere off Holborn. The attempts to decide on which side of Holborn it was do not seem very successful; it would be interesting if it could be known, but it is, perhaps, of small consequence, unless the difference of soil or of drainage down Holborn Hill had any influence on the growth of his plants, and the consequent size of the tubers. When it was he first received them he has not recorded, but in his catalogue of plants growing in his garden (1596) occurs the name *Papus orbiculatus*. In the *Herbal* (1597), in his description of *Papus*, or Virginian potato, he says, "I have received roots hereof from Virginia, otherwise called Novembeya, which grow and prosper here as in their own native country." To prevent mistakes it may be mentioned he uses the word potato alone for *Sisarum peruvianum*, or what we now call the *Batatas edulis*, or sweet potato. This is on page 780, and the woodcut is from *Tabernamontanus*, 482. His *Papus orbiculatus* (our *Solanum tuberosum*) he distinguishes as "bastard potatoes" (p. 15 of second edition of his catalogue), or Virginian potatoes in the *Herbal*.

There is a fact which should not escape attention, that the second edition of his catalogue (1599) is dedicated to Sir Walter Ralegh. In this he may have had hope of patronage; but, though he nowhere mentions it, it may be he had received his potatoes from Ralegh. He simply says, as quoted above, "I have received roots hereof from Virginia."

So proud of his potatoes, or so identified with them in some way that in his portrait, facing page 1 of the *Herbal*, he is represented holding the branch of the plant, it is highly probable he would have a special woodcut for his work. While in many cases he was describing (from Dodonæus) plants he had most likely never seen, here he was at home. Altogether the probability approaches almost to a certainty that the cut was especially made. It has not yet been found anywhere else.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it should be mentioned that in the second edition (Johnson's) there are new cuts (pp. 925, 927), both for the sweet potato and the potato, and a large tuber is given; while, very curiously, in Parkinson's *Paradisus* the cut used is taken from Bauhin's *Prodromus*, published in 1620 at Frankfort.

Then, as to the question, From what was the drawing taken? The most natural inference is that it was from a plant in his Holborn garden.

So much depends on the testimony of this cut that the importance of not drawing wrong inferences about its origin cannot be overrated. It might go far to help to clear up several questions if there were found means of deciding whether the cut itself was made in England or on the Continent. Those who are conversant with methods of work practised by wood-engravers in different countries may find, with a magnifying-glass, some peculiarity of touches that would decide the point. It seems, however, hardly safe even to speak of it definitely as a woodcut. Seguier in his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, 1740, says: "Herball with brass cuts in colours. London, by John Norton, 1597, in fol." Haller, in 1771 (tom. i, p. 389), says: "In B. Bodl. icones dicuntur aeneæ esse: sed lignæ sunt undique." This is a matter that a careful examination can no doubt easily decide.

If there are any reasons for believing the cut was made on the Continent, then the inference would be that the plant from which it was taken also grew there. There is no difficulty on the score of date about this. We know that by 1587 the potato, under the name *Papas hispanorum*, was grown in a garden at Breslau; by 1588, Clusius had received tubers and seeds at Vienna, and he mentions both a hand-drawing and a cut (*picturam* and *iconem*); in 1590, Bauhin had seen "iconem suis coloribus delineatam," and had tubers in 1596. These references are possibly not all that may be found by further search. They suffice, however, to show that a drawing or a cut might have been sent from the Continent in good time for Gerard's book. Although it bears the date 1597, some of the introductory matter is dated December in that year. It is most probable it was not really issued till the

beginning of 1598. Platinus, the publisher, was a friend of both Clusius and L'Obel, and L'Obel was for a time at least helping Gerard with his book. There would be no difficulty about obtaining a drawing were it needed.

If the drawing represents a continental plant, then there would be this difficulty removed from botanists. It is recognised as a good *Solanum tuberosum*. *Tuberousum* is not now known wild in Virginia. Yet Gerard says his plants came from Virginia. Can this, then, really be taken from one of his plants? He nowhere states that it was. If the history of the cut can be worked out, the result may be that botanists need not really have to account for a plant coming from Virginia in the time of Elizabeth which is not found wild there now, for it is *solely on the evidence of this cut* that the statement has ever been made that the *Solanum tuberosum* is, or at least once was, a native of Virginia. No question in reference to it is too trivial for criticism.

A point of interest in connection with the subject is the size of the tubers represented. Why are they so small? The question is mentioned merely to keep it in mind, at this tercentenary epoch, as an unanswered one, on the chance that some one may be able to furnish suggestions. In connection with this question of the size of the tuber, attention may be drawn to a paper in the *Horticultural Society's Transactions*, by Joseph Sabine, F.R.S., vol. v. (1824), p. 249, read November 19, 1822. Mr. Alexander Caldcleugh had sent two tubers, which are figured on plate ix., p. 237. They are said to be from Valparaiso. Maglia is the native name given. The tubers were planted in pots. Six hundred tubers were the result, and it is stated that they were the size of pigeons' eggs *and smaller*. This was from a first year's growth, in somewhat rich soil.

Though this may seem rather a subject for botanists, it is not wholly so, for this question is very closely connected with the next, What is the value of the cut as regards accuracy? The one objection raised by botanists (and this the writer knows only from conversations, and not from any printed statements) is that the tubers are ridiculously small. As we now know potatoes, some of which weigh much over a pound, this objection would hold good. But,

bearing in mind the results of the Horticultural Society's growth of Maglia, it does not necessarily follow the cut is faulty, except that the roots are so large.

There is this point of interest, the meaning of which may be guessed at, and, by anyone who has studied the customs and perhaps even craft rules of woodcutters of the time, may possibly be explained and removed from the region of guess. All the blocks seem to have been of a fixed size. Whether the plant figured was small or large, there was a fixed area which could not be exceeded. There seems to have been a desire, in consequence, to twist some plants into what we now call "conventional treatment," in speaking of floral designs for occupying a space in wallpaper, panels, or carpet patterns.

Such plants as onions or hyacinths cannot readily be twisted to such treatment, and they stand in truthful miniature in the middle of the block, with a wide margin. But a vine, or convolvulus, or bryony, is "conventionalised" to fill the whole block. This can be seen in the somewhat plentiful copies of Lonicerus' *Kreuterbuch*.

An ordinary working gardener looking at Gerard's picture would no doubt fail to recognise the potato. Some of the leaves are "artistically" twisted down, and it is not unnatural to wonder whether the tubers have been "artistically" reduced in size, or the larger ones supposed to have been knocked off, and those that are drawn also "artistically" rounded and somewhat "idealized." But supposing that from an examination of the whole series of woodcuts some average estimate of accuracy were arrived at, supposing that it were admitted that German woodcutters did sacrifice accuracy to artistic effect, how far would that help us to decide the value of this particular cut, if, as is almost certain, it was specially made for the *Herbal*? Though in point of size the cut differs from others in being larger, yet the artist, whether Dutch or English, followed the style of the rest of the cuts, and a certain amount of departure from truth is perhaps to be expected.

Then there comes in this curious question. If Norton, the publisher, attached any importance to this cut as the first ever made of the potato, if he thought it good, why was it superseded by another in the Johnson

edition? Was the block lost? Just possibly Gerard may have valued it so highly that he had retained it as a relic. So much prominence is given to the tuber in the Johnson edition, that it is not unlikely that, for the especial purpose of showing the tuber, a different cut was used. But what was the source of this new cut?* From some plant the result of the cultivation between 1597 and 1633? Thirty-six years of cultivation would, no doubt, have increased the size of the tubers; and it is not an unfair assumption that Gerard's figure is approximately accurate for the tubers as he knew them, and Johnson's for the tubers thirty-six years later. But then comes in this question, why, if these cuts were considered good, were they in Parkinson discarded for a cut from Bauhin? Possibly, if anything is known of Norton, who was Queen's printer, and his successors, some information may be forthcoming to throw light on these questions.

W. S. M.



Notes on Common-Field Names.

BY THE REV. J. C. ATKINSON.

PART II.—OFNAM.

FHERE is another group of names which it may be better to notice separately, inasmuch as it has no very evident analogy to any of those enumerated in the list given above. I mean *Ovenham*, *Hovenham*, *le Hovenham*, *Ovenam*, *Ofnam*. It seems to have been a name in use over a considerable area. Thus it is met with in deeds connected with Ormesby, and with either Marton or Tollesby, in Cleveland; with Allerston, not far from Scarborough; with Cayton, still nearer Scarborough; with Folkton, in the same district; with Fylingdales, not far from Whitby; and so on. In all the instances specified, with one exception, the name only, in one or other of the forms given, is met with. The exception occurs in two several charters, one on F 50 b and the other on F 108, of the Museum copy of the *Rievaulx Chartulary*. These two deeds may be assumed to be not only con-

* Since this was written I find it is the same as in Clusius *Rar. Plant. Hist.*, 1601.

temporary, for the Testes are the same in either case, but also to all intents and purposes identical in purpose and effect, besides being in many parts coincident in language. The reason assigned for the existence of the second, which runs in the name of Robert, Dean of York, second of the name (who died in 1186), is that it had to be sealed with—presumably—the Dean's seal, because the grantor, Torphin de Alverstein, was without a seal, and so his charter would *per se*, as unsealed, lack validity. The purport of either is that Torfin, with the consent of his wife Matilda and his heir Alan, gives to Rievaulx a carucate of land, lying in the campus, or common-field, of Alverstein, now Allerstone. The grant is thus described in the charter: "The carucate which I gave to my wife Matilda and her heirs by me, with all its appurtenances in meadows and pastures, and in all other matters, except the tofts belonging to it, which are retained in my own hand, giving in exchange for them five acres of land in Gindale out of our *ofnams* (de *ofnamis nostris*), with twenty-six perches on the west side of the said dale for their buildings. In the tofts which we made from the outlands (fecimus de utlandis) we have given them three acres and half a perch lying in the *ofnam* itself, close to the aforesaid five acres in Gindale."

In the Dean's charter the carucate in question is described as of the dowry of the said Matilda, and is given as above stated; and then the document proceeds, "and for the tofts belonging to the said carucate they (the donors) have granted five acres in Gindale of Torphin's own *ofnam* (de *ofnam ipsius Torphini*), and twenty-six perches on the west side of the said valley for their buildings; and for the tofts which he (Torphin) made from the outlands they have given them (the monks) three acres and half a perch in the *ofnam* itself, close to the aforesaid five acres."

Collating these two forms of the grant, we note:—

1. The retention by the grantor of the tofts belonging to the carucate given, that is of the sites specially allotted for the buildings (aedificia) of the *villani*, or persons specially occupied in the cultivation of the said carucate.

2. The allotment, in compensation, of twenty-six perches in a different part of the

dale, for the creation of new "fronts," or "front-steads," or building-sites, if not of new tofts, as well as of five acres out of the grantor or lord's, own *ofnam*.

3. The further grant, and again out of the lord's own *ofnam*, of three acres (and a minute fraction over) adjoining the five acres already given, and apparently in compensation for certain tofts which had been formed (and so abstracted) from the outlands.

4. The outlands—"de utlandis."

It may be most convenient to notice this last head first.

The term itself, "outlands," pre-supposes a contrast or antithesis to "inlands," and this term at once suggests a reference to the state of things in Edward the Confessor's time, and before, when "the lord of the manor was a *thane* or *hlaford*; the demesne land was the *thane's inland*, and [the rest], the land in villenage, was the *geneatland*, or the *gesettes-land*" (Seebom, 128). The idea in this part of Cleveland, up to lately at all events, connected with the word *inland*, is that of enclosed, as in contradistinction to unenclosed, or common land; probably the idea is one of survival, connected with that of the ancient common-field. But in the documents before us the outlands (*utlandæ*) can only be the lands of the vill not in demesne, but all equally held by the grantor of the capital lord of the fee, and consequently equally under his control.

But this is a conclusion which brings us back to a more precise recollection of the other matters noted above, viz., the retention, with whatever object or for whatever reason, by the donor of the tofts belonging to the carucate granted, and the compensation made for such deduction, by the grant, not only of a plot of land specially for building purposes in another part of the territory, but of eight acres in one specially distinguished part of the same territory, that is to say, the lord's *ofnam*; while the further fact that three of these acres were given in special compensation for certain tofts, newly made out of what had hitherto been land under the ordinary or regular rotation culture, accentuates the claim upon our attentive regard and consideration.

On the supposition that the carucate granted may have been subdivided into four

husband-lands of two ox-gangs each, houses and farm buildings for four *villani* would have been requisite, not allowing for possible cots or dwellings of *cotarii*. On the supposition that it was subdivided into more than four holdings—and the eight acres given in compensation favours the idea that there may have been eight—eight new building sites, with their appendages, and exclusive of cots, must have been requisite. But it must be remembered that every carucate in the vill or lordship lay under precisely the same hard and fast conditions as to subdivision, apportionment, culture, as that given to the Abbey, and that any disturbance in these conditions could only result in the same consequences as in the case of the carucate just named, which again would require to be remedied in the same way; and a case of the kind actually occurs in the arrangements noted. To obviate this, the remedy for the first or original disturbance might be, not to say would be, by assigning the compensatory lands out of a source, or tract of land, underlying different conditions to those in which all the common-fields of the lordship were involved. Such a source, or tract of land, might be found in land newly taken up, or enclosed and cultivated, out of what had hitherto been the waste or common land belonging to, and formerly part of, the vill, lordship, or manor.

That such takings up, enclosures, purprestures, or by whatever other term they may be designated, were common enough, and as made alike by the lords, religious houses, or private individuals, is a matter which requires no elaborate proof. The evidences are met with in profusion in every chartulary, to mention no other class of old documents whatever.

But yet one matter remains to be noted in connection with the *ofnam* or *ofnams* concerned in the charters we have adverted to, and that is the date. From documentary evidence, notably in the *Whitby Chartulary*, and also, though less precisely, in the *Rievaulx Chartulary*, Torphin de Alverstein was dead by or before 1170, and his son Alan reigned in his stead as lord of divers manors, which were part of the fee of his father at the time the two charters above cited were drawn and ratified. The enclosures in question, then,

were of a date scarcely a century later than the Conquest itself, or sufficiently early to explain the application to them of a descriptive term older by far than the Conquest itself, but which had not yet had time to become obsolete. And that, I conceive, is the category under which the word or name, *ofnam*, *ovenam*, *hovenam*, *hovenham*, will have of necessity to be placed.

In the minutes and orders of quarter sessions held at Richmond, October 5, 1624, a re-seizure of cattle from certain bailiffs who had made an illegal seizure of the same, is described as made under a "warrant de withernam," where the *nam* is simply equivalent to taking, taking possession of, from A.S. *nima*, to take, seize. It is the same word as in our name, *ovenam* or *ofnam*; and Bosworth gives us the verb, "*ofniman*, to take, seize." But the full force of the A.S. preposition *of* is "*from, out of; de, e, ex*" [ib.]. And thus the clearly defined meaning of *ofnam*, as applied to an enclosure, is seen to be land taken up from or out of a larger tract hitherto unappropriated and unenclosed; in other words, a purpresture, encroachment, or inta'k, which latter word is the Cleveland word for the same to this day, involving the idea of "taking in" from the common, as *ofnam* does that of "taking out of" the same.



Precious Stones :

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A.

PART III.—THE DIAMOND.

THE history of the diamond is richer in detail than that of any other precious stone, for all the great stones are known by name, and their changes of ownership can be traced back to their first discovery. The Romans placed the diamond in the very highest rank as a precious stone; but as they were in the habit of wearing the crystals in their native form, this eminent position must have been given to it more on account of its scarcity than for its beauty. It is only in modern times

that the extreme brilliance of the diamond has been brought out by means of art. We do not know when it was first polished with its own dust, but the art of cutting it into a regular form, so as to bring out all possible lustre, was not practised before the year 1456, when Louis Van Berghem, a citizen of Bruges, made a revolution in the trade by the discovery of the art of diamond-cutting. In 1475 he was employed by Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, to cut three large stones—previously worn by the King in their natural state—as eight-sided crystals (*points naïves*). It was nearly two hundred years later (1650), during the supremacy of Cardinal Mazarin, that the true brilliant shape was discovered. The three forms in which diamonds are cut are the table, the rose, and the brilliant. The first two forms were long—the only ones in use; but when the brilliant cutting was introduced, they were superseded, except for inferior stones.

The diamond has sometimes been engraved upon, and there are a few historic stones with arms and initials on them. In the Paris Exhibition there was a ring with an engraved diamond, said to be by Jacopo da Frezzo. It is supposed that much of the engraving said to have been executed on diamonds was really displayed upon the white topaz or the colourless sapphire.

The diamond mines of Central India originally supplied the world with nearly all the notable diamonds; but they are now nearly superseded. The largest supply is now obtained from the Brazils, and the diamonds of Borneo are held in high repute. The mines of the Cape of Good Hope have produced a large number of stones during the last few years, but many of them have a yellow tint.

The diamond has been found in almost every colour, from the slightest tint to the most pronounced dye; and the rose-coloured diamond as far eclipses the ruby as the green does the emerald, and the blue the sapphire. A yellowish tinge is considered a great defect; but a decided colour is valued for its rarity as well as for its beauty. The famous Hope diamond is a brilliant of a beautiful sapphire blue, its weight 44½ carats, and it is valued at £30,000. A green diamond is a great rarity, and a small one

about $1\frac{1}{2}$ carats was sold a few years ago at Mr. Hancock's for £300. Mr. Streeter states in his work, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, that the actual number of diamonds over 30 carats* in weight now existing in every part of the world cannot safely be estimated at much more than one hundred, of which probably about fifty are in Europe, and the remainder in Persia, India, and Borneo. We will now proceed to note some of the most famous of these one hundred stones.

Several of the largest diamonds are still in the rough, and therefore cannot be compared with those which are cut. The *Braganza*, one of the Portuguese crownjewels, preserved in the Royal Treasury at Lisbon, is by far the largest stone professing to be a diamond. It was found in Brazil about the year 1797.† It is about the size of an ordinary hen's egg, and weighs 1,680 carats. As the Portuguese Government will not allow the stone to be examined, grave doubts have been expressed whether it is really a diamond at all.

The *Matan* is one of the largest and most esteemed diamonds in existence, although doubts have been expressed by some as to its genuineness. It was found in the Landak mines, near the west coast of Borneo, in or about the year 1787. It is uncut, and weighs 376 carats. The Sultan of Matan highly values it, and does not allow it to be seen. Strangers are shown a model of it in crystal. Tempting offers have been made to the Sultan, but he will not part with it, as he believes that the prosperity of his family depends upon it. The Dutch Governor of Batavia offered two gun-boats, with stores and ammunition and 150,000 dollars, but his offer was rejected. Mr. Crawford valued the stone at £269,378.

The *Nizam*, which weighed 340 carats in the rough, is described by Barbot, who values it at £200,000; but little is known of its history.

The *Orloff* is a rose diamond now set in the top of the Russian imperial sceptre, but it had passed through many vicissitudes before arriving there. Count Orloff, who was on

* The weight of diamonds is calculated by grains and carats. 4 grains = 1 carat; $14\frac{1}{2}$ carats = 1 ounce troy; 5 diamond grains = 4 troy grains.

† Other dates have been given, some fifty years earlier, but this is apparently the correct one.

his travels in 1775, bought the stone at Amsterdam from a merchant named Khojeh Raphael for £90,000 cash and an annuity of £4,000 in addition. The early history of the *Orloff* diamond is very confused, and those who wish to judge for themselves as to its identity with stones having other names, such as the *Koh-i-Tür*, must consult Mr. Streeter's work, where the matter is fully discussed. The weight of the *Orloff* is 193 carats.

The *Darya-i-Nur*, or "Sea of Light," and the *Taj-e-Nah*, or "Crown of the Moon," are two splendid stones of 186 and 146 carats respectively, belonging to the Shah of Persia. They are described by Sir John Malcolm in his *Sketches of Persia*, who tells us that they are the principal stones in a pair of bracelets valued at near a million sterling.

The *Austrian* or *Florentine*, also called "The Grand Duke of Tuscany," is of citron-yellow hue, which makes it less valuable than it would have been had its colour been pure. It has been estimated as worth from £40,000 to £50,000. The following is the official description of the stone: "The *Florentine*, also called the 'Great Florentine diamond,' actually forming part of a hat-button, is known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world. It weighs $133\frac{1}{2}$ carats of Vienna, but is rather yellow. The stone is cut in nine surfaces, covered with facets forming a star with nine rays. This jewel was once the property of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who according to the custom of the day carried all his valuables in the battle-field, first to have them always in sight, and secondly on account of the mysterious power then attributed to precious stones. Charles lost this diamond at the battle of Morat, on the 22nd June, 1476. Tradition relates that it was picked up by a peasant, who took it for a piece of glass and sold it for a florin. The new owner, Bartholomew May, a citizen of Berne, sold it to the Genoese, who sold it in turn to Ludovico Moro Sforza. By the intercession of the Fuggers it came into the Medici treasury at Florence. When Francis Stephen of Lorraine exchanged this Duchy for the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, he became the owner of the 'Florentine diamond.' Through this prince, who became later on the consort of the Empress Maria Theresa,

this diamond came into the private treasury of the Imperial House at Vienna. At the coronation of Francis Stephen as Emperor of Germany at Frankfort-on-Main, the 4th day of October, 1745, the Florentine diamond adorned the crown of the House of Austria." Mr. Streeter, who quotes this account, disputes its authenticity. He shows that it is a mistake to introduce the names of Charles the Bold and Fugger into this history. The stone that the Duke of Burgundy lost was sold by the Fuggers to Henry VIII. of England, whose daughter Mary presented it to her husband, Philip II. of Spain. The authentic history of the "Austrian" really begins with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in whose possession it was when it was examined by Tavernier.

The *Pitt*, or *Regent*, is the most perfect brilliant in existence, and is without a rival in shape and water. It weighed 410 carats in the rough, and is said to have been found in the Parteal mines, in the year 1701, by a slave who ran away from his master, and offered it to a skipper. The skipper lured him on board his ship, and after throwing him overboard, sold the stone to Jamchund, the largest diamond merchant in the East, for £1,000. Jamchund offered it to Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, for £85,000. Much negotiation was carried on between these two, and at last Pitt became possessor of the stone for £20,400. It was cut in London at a cost of £5,000, and the cutting occupied two years; but the fragments cut off were valued at between £3,000 and £4,000. Pitt seems to have found his diamond a somewhat unenviable possession, for so fearful was he of robbery that he never made known beforehand the day of his coming to town, nor slept two nights consecutively in the same house. The fame of the diamond spread over Europe, and many persons tried to obtain a sight of it; but Uffenbach, the German traveller who visited this country in 1712, found all his efforts to see it useless. Another source of uneasiness to the possessor was caused by the sinister rumours which were spread about as to the mode by which he obtained it. It seems that the crime of the skipper was attributed to Governor Pitt. The calumny took a very unpleasant form when Pope wrote, in his *Moral Essays*:

Asleep and naked as an Indian lay,
An honest factor stole a gem away:
He pledg'd it to the Knight; the Knight had wit,
So kept the diamond, and the rogue was bit.

Pitt published in 1710 a full account of the purchase in order to silence his calumniators, and this was reprinted in 1743, many years after his death. In 1717 Pitt sold his diamond to the Duc d'Orleans, Regent of France, through the intervention of Law, the financier (who received £5,000 for his trouble), for £135,000. In the inventory of the French crown jewels drawn up in the year 1791, it is valued at 12,000,000 francs, or £480,000. During the Reign of Terror the stone was stolen, but was restored in a mysterious manner. Napoleon I. found it of inestimable value to him, for after the 18th Brumaire, by pledging it to the Dutch he procured the funds that were so indispensable for the consolidation of his power. It was afterwards redeemed, and ornamented the pommel of the Emperor's sword. It was exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1855 amongst the crown jewellery; and it is mentioned in the report of the proceedings of the French Parliamentary Committee which has lately been considering the advisability of selling the crown jewels. This celebrated stone gave point to one of the first Lord Holland's speeches in the House of Commons. His great opponent, the first William Pitt had expressed a wish that a certain motion might be a millstone about the mover's neck to drag him to the lower regions. Pitt afterwards (when in office) adopted the plan he had before stigmatized, so Henry Fox rose and said, "I am happy the right honourable gentleman has retracted the opinion he has hitherto maintained, and I sincerely wish that what he hoped would prove a millstone about my neck may become a brilliant equal, if not superior, to that of his namesake's to grace his hat withal."

The *Star of the South* is a brilliant which was found in the mines of the province of Minas-Geraes, Brazil, in 1853, by a negress, who obtained her freedom and a small annuity. Her master sold it for the ridiculously small sum of £3,000. It subsequently changed owners several times, and at last was sold to the ex-Gaikwar of Baroda for eight lakhs of rupees, or £80,000.

The *Koh-i-Nür*, or "Mountain of Light," was the talisman of India for many centuries. According to Hindu legend it was worn by Karna, King of Anga, and one of the warriors who were slain in the great war which is the subject of the Sanscrit epic *Maha'bhdrata*. The Emperor Baber records the fact of this diamond having been taken at Agra, by Humayun, in May, 1526; and when Tavernier visited the Court of the Great Mogul, it was in the possession of Aurungzebe, who treated it with the greatest solemnity. According to tradition, Mohammed Shah, the great grandson of Aurungzebe, wore the *Koh-i-Nür* in front of his turban at his interview with his Conqueror Nadir Shah, when the latter monarch insisted upon exchanging turbans in proof of his regard. It was Nadir Shah who gave to this famous stone the name by which it is still known. Mr. Streeter calls this stone pre-eminently the great diamond of history and romance, and Professor Maskelyne writes: "History seems never to have lost sight of this stone of fate, from the days when Ala-ed-din took it from the Rajah of Malwa, five centuries and a half ago, to the day when it became a crown jewel of England."

On the annexation of the Punjab, in 1850, by the British Government, it was stipulated that the *Koh-i-Nür* should be presented to the Queen. After being exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Queen and the Prince Consort decided that it should be recut, and Mr. Voorsanger, of Mr. Coster's establishment, Amsterdam, undertook the task. The operation cost £8,000, and the result, from various causes, has not been considered very satisfactory. It has been frequently asserted that the *Koh-i-Nür* and the *Great Mogul* were one and the same stone, but Mr. Streeter very vigorously repudiates this view. It is, however, a very curious fact that nothing is known of the history of the *Great Mogul* since the time it was seen by Tavernier in 1665. To get over the difficulty which this blank presents, Mr. Streeter supposes that the stone has ceased to exist in its complete state. He writes: "It was probably stolen either at the sack of Delhi, or at the death of Nadir Shah, and then, in order to escape detection, its possessors had it broken by cleavage into two or more stones."

The *Shah* is a table-cut diamond of the finest water, which appears to have formed part of the Persian regalia from very early times. It has two peculiarities: one is, that it is so pure throughout that the cutter was able to leave several of the natural facets untouched, and only nine carats were lost in the process of cutting; and the other, that it is engraved with the names of three Persian rulers, viz., Akbar Shah, Nisim Shah, and Fat'h Ali Shah. The last of these potentates was the nephew of Aga Mohammed, and succeeded him in 1797. In 1847 this diamond was presented to Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, by Prince Chosroes, youngest son of Abbas Mirza, who visited St. Petersburg in that year.

The *Nassak* has an eventful history, and is one of the few large stones that have been put up to public auction. It formerly belonged to the shrine of Shiva, the presiding genius of the town of Nassak, on the Upper Godavery. It was captured by the Marquis of Hastings from the Peishwar of the Mahrattas, and presented to the East India Company, but was ultimately given up, and formed part of the booty, being valued at £30,000. It was in London in 1818, and was soon afterwards sold to Rundell and Bridge, who had it recut. The original Indian cutting was very bad, and the recutting, which was performed at but a small sacrifice in weight, transformed the diamond into a stone of considerable brilliancy. At the sale of Messrs. Rundell and Bridge's stock, in 1831, the *Nassak* was sold to Emanuel Brothers, for the small sum of £7,200. In 1837 it was again sold by auction, when it was purchased by the Marquis of Westminster.

The *Pigott* takes its name from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Pigott, Governor of Madras, who is supposed to have received it either from the Rajah of Tanjore or the Nabob of Arcot. Lord Pigott died in 1777, and some few years afterwards this stone was disposed of in a lottery for £30,000. It then came into the hands of Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, for a much lower price. They sold it to Ali Pasha for £30,000, who, when he was mortally wounded by Reshid Pasha, ordered an attendant to crush it to powder. Thus was destroyed one of the finest of historical diamonds.

The *Sancy* is a renowned stone, with a long but somewhat confused history. Although Mr. Streeter calls it the very sphinx of diamonds, he has done much to clear up the mystery. It has been supposed by most writers that this stone was worn by Charles the Bold of Burgundy when he was killed at the battle of Nancy; but it is really this erroneous supposition that has so thoroughly confused the history. The stone makes its first appearance about the year 1570, when it was purchased in the East, for a large sum, by Nicholas Harlai, Seigneur de Sancy, who was French Ambassador at the Ottoman Court. Some stories say that this diamond was in the possession of Henri III., and subsequently of Henri IV. of France; but if so, it was only lent to them by Sancy, for it still belonged to him when he was appointed Ambassador to the Court of England by Henri IV. During the time he was in this country he would seem to have sold the stone to Queen Elizabeth; and a most important link in the history of this famous diamond has been discovered by Mr. Streeter in the *Inventory of the Jewels in the Tower of London*, March 22, 1605, where the "Mirror of Great Britain," a famous crown jewel, composed soon after the accession of James I., is described as follows: "A great and ryche jewell of golde, called the 'Myrror of Greate Brytayne,' conteyninge one verie fayre table dyamonde, one verie fayre table rubye, twoe other lardge dyamondes, cut lozengewyse, the one of them called the 'Stone of the letter H of Scotland,' garnyshed wythe smalle dyamondes, twoe rounde perles, fixed, and one fayre dyamonde, cutt in fawcettis, bought of SAUNCEY."* M. de Sancy died in 1627, and a few years afterwards we find the stone in the possession of the exiled Henrietta Maria, and still called by his name. It was set in a ruby necklace when the Queen presented it to Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester. Robert de Berquem mentions this diamond in his *Merveilles des Indes* (1669), and describes it as in the possession of the Queen of England; but he could not have seen it, because, although he describes it correctly enough as "almond-shaped, cut in facets, perfectly white and fine," he adds that it weighed 100 carats, which is nearly double

* *Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, vol. ii., p. 305.

the correct weight. We know that it subsequently came into the possession of James II., for he sold it to Louis XIV. for 625,000 francs, or £25,000. In the *Inventory of the French Crown Jewels*, of 1791, it is valued at 1,000,000 francs, or £40,000. It was lost to the nation in the great robbery of September, 1792, at the Garde Meuble, when the Regent diamond also disappeared. We lose sight of the Sancy until about the year 1828, when it was bought by the Demidoff family from a French merchant. In February, 1865, it was sold by the Demidoffs to Messrs. Garrard (who acted for Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, of Bombay), for £20,000. Mr. Streeter says it did not remain long in India, for in 1867 it was exhibited in MM. Bapst's glass case, at the Paris Exhibition. When the Prince of Wales made his tour in India, the Maharaja of Puttiala wore the Sancy diamond in his turban at the Grand Durbar. Since then the Maharaja has died, and the diamond is now again for sale. With the Sancy we conclude our notices of the chief historical diamonds, but may add a few particulars of some large diamonds that have been discovered within the last few years. One of the finest of these is the Brazilian stone formerly belonging to Mr. E. Dresden, which Mr. Streeter calls the "English Dresden." It was discovered about the year 1857 in the Bagagem district, from whence the Star of the South also came. This stone was bought by a Bombay merchant for £40,000, on whose death it was sold to the Gaikwar of Baroda for the same sum. The following table of the diamonds mentioned above may be useful:

LIST OF FAMOUS DIAMONDS.

Name.	Where from.	Weight after cutting.	Weight in rough. Carats.
Braganza.	Brazil.	1,680	
Matan.	Borneo.	367	
Nizam.	India.	340	
Orloff.	India.	193	
Darya-i-Nûr, or "Sea of Light."	India.	186	
Taj-e-Mah, or "Crown of the Moon."	India.	146	
Austrian or Florentine.	India.	139 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Pitt or Regent.	India.	136 $\frac{1}{2}$	410
Star of the South.	Brazil.	124 $\frac{1}{2}$	254 $\frac{1}{2}$
Koh-i-Nûr, or "Mountain of Light."	India.	106	
," Indian cut.	India.	186	
Shah.	India.	86	95

Name.	Where from.	Weight after cutting.	Weight in rough.
		Carats.	Carats.
Pigott.	India.	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Nassak.	India.	78 $\frac{3}{4}$	
" Indian cut.		89 $\frac{1}{2}$	
English Dresden.	Brazil.	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	119 $\frac{1}{2}$
Great Sancy.	India.	54	

We have not as yet made any mention of the remarkable stones (mostly with a light yellow tinge) which have been found within the last few years in the Diamond Fields of South Africa. The chief of these are: The remarkable white diamond, weighing 457 carats, which arrived from Griqualand in August, 1884. It was purchased by a syndicate of London and Paris diamond merchants, who despatched it to Amsterdam to be cut. It now weighs 230 carats; but it is intended to reduce it to something under 200 carats, when it is expected to be one of the most wonderful brilliants on record. The Stewart, weighing 288 $\frac{3}{4}$ carats, in the rough; the Porter Rhodes, 150 carats (rough); Du Toit I., 244 carats (rough); Du Toit II., 124 carats (rough); the Jagersfontein, 209 $\frac{1}{4}$ carats (rough); the Tennant, 112 carats (rough), 66 (cut as brilliant); and the Dudley, or "Star of South Africa," 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ (rough), 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ (cut). The discovery of so large a number of fine stones in the short period during which the South African mines have been worked is quite unexampled in the history of diamond discovery, and those who desire to know the history of these stones should consult Mr. Streeter's valuable work, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, to which we have already frequently referred. The late Professor Tennant, who always exhibited a great interest in the African mines, made a very interesting report respecting the Cape diamonds, before the Geological Section of the British Association, in September, 1875. He said that the late Mr. Mawe, who wrote on diamonds, and described their mode of occurrence, in his *Travels in Brazil* (London, 1812), told him of the probability of their existence in South Africa, and affirmed that if people only knew them in their natural state they must be found. Mawe died in 1829, and Mr. Tennant took every opportunity of making the subject known; but it was not until March, 1867, that the first Cape diamond was found.

Quaint Conceits in Pottery.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F.S.A., ETC.

IV.—"BELLARMINES," OR "GREYBEARDS."



THE "Bellarmine," to which I made passing allusion in my last chapter, is one of the many varieties of liquor-holding vessels in use by our ancestors and known as "Drinking Stone Pottes," "Ale Pottes," or "Cologne Pottes," and for the making of which in England, among others, a patent was granted in 1626 to "Thomas Rous als Rius and Abraham Cullyn," the patent being "for the Sole Making of the Stone Potte, Stone Jugge, and Stone Bottelle within our Dominions for the tearme of fowerteene yeaeres." Among other English makers later on was John Dwight, of Fulham, who, in 1671, had a patent granted to him by Charles II., the preamble of which states that he had discovered "The Mistery of Transparent Earthenware, commonly knowne by the Names of Porcelaine or China, and Persian Ware, as also the Misterie of the Stone Ware vulgarly called Cologne Ware; and that he designed to introduce a Manufacture of the said Wares into our Kingdome of England, where they have not hitherto bene wrought or made;" and who again, fourteen years later, received a new patent for "Severall New Manufactures of Earthenware, called by the names of White Gorges, Marbled Porcellane Vessels, Statues, and Figures, and Fine Stone Gorges and Vessels, never before made in England or elsewhere; and also discovered the Mistery of Transparent Porcellane, and Opacous, Redd, and Darke-coloured Porcellane or China and Persian Wares, and the Mistery of the Cologne or Stone Wares." Thus Bellarmines and "Ale Pottes" and such-like vessels, which previously had been imported from abroad, became a staple branch of manufacture in our own country.

The *Bellarmines*, otherwise known as *Greybeards* or *Longbeards*, are, as the engraving will show, of bottle form, and made of the hard stoneware known as *Cologne* ware. In some instances they have a handle at the back of the neck, and usually an ornament in front. The neck is narrow, and

the lower part, or "belly," as it is technically and correctly called, very wide and protuberant. They were of various sizes, each having its special designation; thus, the *Gallonier* was capable of containing a gallon of liquor, the *Poittle Pot* two quarts, the *Pot* a quart, and the *Little Pot* a pint. They were in very general use in the "ale-houses" of the period, and being very strong were not easily broken.

These curious vessels took their name, derisively, from Cardinal Bellarmine, who died in 1621. "The Cardinal having, by his determined and bigoted opposition to the reformed religion, made himself obnoxious in the Low Countries, became naturally an object of derision and contempt with the Protestants,



FIG. 1.

who, among other modes of showing their detestation of the man, seized on the potter's art to exhibit his short stature, his hard features, and his bloated and rotund figure, to become the jest of the ale-house and the by-word of the people." Usually the Bellarmine has, at the top of the neck, a more or less rudely modelled human head with long beard; and in front, on the belly, usually in an oval tablet, either a shield with armorial bearings, or some other device. The two first engraved show these kind of ornaments (Fig. 1); the next is somewhat different, and has a central encircling band between circular tablets and foliage, as well as the characteristic bearded full-face head (Fig. 2). Another example, engraved in the *British Archaeological Journal*, has rudely formed arms. It was found in Cateaton Street, London.

Allusions to the Bellarmine under its various names are often met with in our old writers. In the curious play of *Epsom Wells*, for instance, one of the characters, while busy with ale, says: "Uds bud, my head begins to turn round; but let's into the house. 'Tis dark. We'll have one Bellarmine there, and then Bonus nocius." Bulwer, in his *Artificial Changeling*, 1563, says of a formal doctor that "the fashion of his beard was just, for all the world, like those upon Flemish jugs, bearing in gross the form of a broom, narrow above and broad beneath;" and Ben Jonson, in *Bartholomew Fair*, says of a drunken man: "The man with the beard [the Bellarmine of



FIG. 2.

ale] has almost struck up his heels." Again, in Cartwright's *Ordinary*, 1651, are these words:

"Thou thing,
Thy belly looks like to some strutting hill,
O'ershadowed by thy rough beard like a wood;
Or like a large jug that some men call
A *Bellarmino*, but we a *Conscience*;
Whereon the lewdler hand of Pagan workman
Over the proud ambitious head have carved
An idol large, with beard episcopal,
Making the vessel look like tyrant Eglon."

A different and somewhat comical version of the origin of these drinking vessels with protuberant bellies is given thus drolly by Ben Jonson in his *Gipsies Metamorphosed*. He says:

"Gaze upon this brave spark struck out of Flintshire upon Justice Jug's daughter, then Sheriff of the county, who, running away with a kinsman of our captain's, and her father pursuing her to the Marches, he great with justice, she great with juggling, they were both for the time turned into stone upon sight of each other here in Chester; till at last (see the wonder!) a jug of the town ale reconciling them, the memorial of both their gravities—his in beard, hers in belly—hath remained ever since preserved in picture upon the most stone jugs of the kingdom."



FIG. 3.

In another place, "O rare Ben" also says :

Whose at the best, some great round thing
Faced with a beard, that fills out to the guests.

These are but few out of very many allusions that might be quoted, but they are enough for the purpose. I cannot, however, forbear quoting a pleasantly told little story of a "sell" that is said to have been practised on a Scotch lady, Mrs. Balfour, of Denbog, about the year 1770. That lady being one day engaged on her usual half-yearly brewings, was called upon by a neighbour, Mr. Paterson, when she complained to him that she found herself short of bottles, and asked him if he could lend her any. Paterson replied

that he had no bottles he could spare just then, but added, "I think I can bring you a few greybeards that would hold a good deal. Would they do?" Yes, she said; they would do well. What day would he bring them? This being settled, and the day arrived, Paterson made his appearance and was asked, "Well, have ye brought the greybeards?" "Aye, aye," said Paterson; "they're downstairs." "How many an ye brought?" "Nae less nor ten." "I hope they're large, for I have more ale than I thought." "I'll warrant ye ilk yan o' them'll hould twa gallons. Come and see them." Down then went Mrs. Balfour with her neighbour, and there found ten of the deepest drinkers—greybearded old lairds—of the district. She at once saw the joke, but said before filling the greybeards with ale it would be well to have some dinner, which she accordingly ordered, and it is said no bottles were wanted for extra ale.

The engraving last given (Fig. 3) is a Bellarmine of Dwight's make, of Fulham, dug up on the spot, and presented to me by the owner of the site of those historical works. It bears the royal monogram of the conjoined C's of Charles II.



Notes on the History of Crown Lands.

By S. R. BIRD, F.S.A.

PART III.

LITTLE change appears to have taken place with regard to the extent and composition of the demesne lands of the Crown during the rule of the Norman sovereigns. There being in fact no standing army to be maintained, the knight-service of the feudal system meeting all military requirements and the practice of employing mercenary troops for service abroad not being regularly introduced till a later period, the expenses of the Sovereign and his household were limited to the maintenance of the kingly state, and of a profuse hospitality to his nobles and retainers, for which the resources provided by the Crown lands were

amply sufficient. It is true that extensive alienations of those lands took place during the turbulent reign of Stephen, in order to enable that monarch to endow the new earldoms by the creation of which he sought to counterbalance the rebellious attitude of the rest of the Barons; but on the restoration of order in the following reign those earldoms were abolished, and their possessions restored to the Crown.

It was not till the royal Exchequer had been impoverished by the prodigal extravagance of the Plantagenets, and by the foreign wars in which they were continually involved, that the alienation of the King's demesnes took place to such an extent as to call for legislative interference. When, however, the Sovereign sought to replenish his exhausted finances by the imposition of new or excessive taxation, the Parliament was provided with an effective remedy in the shape of an *Act of Resumption*—the Commons frequently expressing their opinion that the King should "live upon his own, so as not to burden the State nor require any relief therefrom," and demanding that all grants made subsequent to a specified date, without the consent of Parliament, should be resumed into the King's hands, the unlucky purchaser of the royal manors, lands, and tenements (for few of the so-called "gifts and grants" were made without a very substantial consideration in hard cash, as appears by the frequent entries of such payments on the Oblata and Fine Rolls) being not only compelled to yield up their bargains, but also severely censured, and occasionally condemned to fine and imprisonment, for having instigated the Sovereign to such an immoral transaction.

It is difficult to understand how grants, the tenure of which was so very uncertain and even perilous, should have been considered worth accepting.

Acts of Resumption were of frequent occurrence during the whole of the Plantagenet period, the last Act of this kind actually passed being that of 11 Henry VII.

Amongst the Ordinances promulgated in the fifth year of Edward II., by the committee of "Ordainers," to whom had been entrusted the task of rescuing the kingdom from the "oppressions, prises, and destructions" proceeding from the bad and deceit-

ful counsel of the King's advisers, more especially of the hated Piers de Gaveston, was one to the effect that all gifts which had been made "to the damage of the King and the diminution of the Crown" since the appointment of the said commissioners, should be repealed and not be re-granted to the same persons without the common consent of Parliament; and, moreover, that if any such gifts should be hereafter given as aforesaid without the consent of the Baronage in Parliament, until the King's debts were acquitted and his state becomingly relieved, they should be void and of none effect.

In the sixth year of Henry IV. the Commons pray that, inasmuch as the Crown of the kingdom of England is greatly "emblémisez et anientisez" by the great and outrageous gifts made to divers persons, both spiritual and temporal, it may be enacted that all castles, manors, lands, seigneuries, tenements, etc., which were part of the ancient inheritance of the Crown in the fortieth year of Edward III., and which have been since granted, whether for life or for a term of years, or in fee-simple or fee-tail, may be entirely resumed, retaken, and seized into the hands of the King, and rejoined to the Crown aforesaid for ever, unless such grants have been made by the express authority of the Parliament; and that no person shall enjoy any such lands or tenements so granted since the said fortieth year of Edward III. under pain of forfeiture of such lands and of three years' imprisonment; and that no officer of the Crown shall make or put into execution any such gift or grant in time to come, on pain of losing his office, forfeiting his possessions to the King, and suffering imprisonment for the like term.

To this petition the response of the King was to the effect that, "for als muche that the Communes desiren that the King should live upon his owne as gode reson asketh, and all Estates thynken the same, the King thanketh them for ther gode desire willyng to put it in execution als sone as he wel may,"—and that commissioners should be forthwith appointed to ascertain what lands did belong to the Crown in the fortieth year of Edward III., and what did not, and to carry the said resolutions into effect.

By far the most important of these Acts,

however, was that of the twenty-eighth year of Henry VI., when, if we may judge from the preamble to the Act, the King was reduced to a condition of the most hopeless insolvency.

The Commons remind his Majesty that by his own high commandment it was declared and shown unto them at the last Parliament, by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and other Lords of the Council thereto appointed, that the King was indebted in three hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds, and that his livelihood in yearly value was but five thousand. And it was furthermore declared that the expenses necessary to his Majesty's household, without all other ordinary charges, come to twenty-four thousand pounds yearly, being thus nineteen thousand pounds in excess of his annual income. And the Commons further say that although they are as well willed to the relief of his Highness as ever a people were to any King of his progenitors, yet they are so impoverished, "what by taking of vitaile to your houshold, and other things in your said reaume and nocht paied for; and the Quinszime by your said Communes afore this tyme so often graunted, and by the graunt of Tonnage and Poundage, and by the graunt of the Subsidie upon the Wolles, and other grauntes to your Highnesse, and for lakke of execution of justice, that your pore Communes been full nigh distroied; and if it should continue longer in such grete charge, it cowde nocht in ony wyse be hadde nor borne."

They therefore pray his Majesty, in consideration of the foregoing, to resume into his hands and possession all honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, etc., granted by him since the first day of his reign—and all such manors, etc., parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster as had passed from him by grant or grants—and that all letters patent or grants made of any of the premises, or of any part thereof, shall be void and of none effect; to which petition his Majesty was graciously pleased to accede. Similar resumptions took place in the thirteenth year of Edward IV., and the third and eleventh years of Henry VII.

To these Acts of Resumption, however, numerous exceptions were made on the behalf of specially favoured individuals, and more especially of religious foundations; and

notwithstanding the magnificent windfalls which accrued to the King by escheat and forfeiture, especially during the more turbulent and unsettled reigns, the Crown lands gradually dwindled in extent from the reign of Henry II., when they may be said to have reached their highest point, to that of William III., when but a miserable remnant of these formerly vast possessions was left.

Amongst the escheats and forfeitures by which the Crown was enriched subsequent to the reign of Henry II., may be mentioned the "Terra Normannorum," or possessions of the Norman nobles in England, which on the separation of the duchy from the Crown of England in the reign of Henry III. were confiscated *en masse*. The followers of Simon de Montfort, who after the Battle of Evesham are significantly described by an ancient chronicler as "Exheredatos," also contributed largely to the aggrandizement of the royal possessions. By the dictum of Kenilworth, however, the rebels were permitted to redeem their lands by the payment of five years' purchase; and in the case of those who were unable to do so, the lands were probably disposed of to those persons who already had the custody of them, so that little permanent increase to the land revenue of the Crown resulted from these vast forfeitures. An acquisition of a more lasting character was the inheritance by Edward I. from Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle, of her important possessions, which included the great Lordship of Holderness, and the whole of the Isle of Wight; and on the death of Alexander III. of Scotland the extensive Honour of Penrith in Cumberland, with all the manors of which it was composed, and the Lordship of Tyndale in Northumberland devolved on the English sovereign.

The Earldom of Chester, which had been annexed to the Crown for ever by letters patent of 31 Henry III., was granted by that King to his younger son Edmund, by whom, however, it was transferred to his brother Edward, and subsequently granted by the latter to Simon de Montfort. On Montfort's death in 1265, the earldom again reverted to the Crown, in the possession of which it remained until 1301, when, together with the Principality of Wales, it was conferred by Edward I. on his son Edward of Carnarvon.

On the extinction of the Earldom of Cornwall in 1300, the revenues thereof were received by the Crown until 1307, when the earldom was re-granted to Piers de Gaveston. On his execution in 1314 the Crown again took possession, the dignity being finally granted in 1330 to John, the second son of Edward II.

The earldom again became extinct in 1336, and in 1337 the Duchy of Cornwall was created and conferred on the Earl of Chester, the eldest son of Edward III., since which date the two titles have always been vested in the heir-apparent.

The land revenue in Wales did not, as has sometimes been imagined, appertain to the Princes of Wales in right of that dignity, but formed a part of the hereditary revenue of the Crown, such lands as the Princes possessed within the Principality having been always conferred on them by some special licence or grant distinct from the patent of creation. By an inquisition taken in 50 Edward III., shortly after the death of Edward the Black Prince, it was found that the revenues thus settled on him in North and South Wales, which thereby reverted to the Crown, amounted to £4,871 12s. 5d. per annum, which, according to the comparative value of money at that time, would be equal to about £30,000 at the present day. The whole of the Crown property within the Principality may, however, be assumed to have been of much greater value than the lands thus specified, which do not include any in the counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, or Pembroke.

A peculiar species of revenue, called *Mises*, appears to have been derived from the Principality of Wales, and also from the county of Chester. These have been stated to be sums of money levied in each county on the creation of every new Prince, to whom they were granted by the people in consideration of the allowance of their ancient laws and customs. In a commission issued in the first year of Henry VII. for levying Mises in North Wales and Chester, they are, however, described as being due by the royal prerogative to the *Kings of England* on their accession to the throne, which is confirmed by an account of the Mises in North and South Wales, dated 4 James I. It seems

probable that the Mises due to the Crown having been in some instances granted to the Princes of Wales with other revenues in the Principality, it has thence been supposed that they were due to the Princes in their own right. The total amount of the Mises for North and South Wales in 4 James I. was £5,653 11s. 11d., those in Cheshire being stated to be £2,000.

Great alienations of the Crown lands in Wales took place during the reign of Charles I., and although, when the Act of 22 Charles II. was passed for the sale of the fee farm rents belonging to the Crown, those in Wales were expressly excepted, the net produce of the whole revenue of the Principality in the reign of William III. amounted to barely £1,900 per annum.

In the reign of Edward II. large accessions to the landed property of the Crown resulted from the forfeitures by the "Contrarians," or adherents of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, and in that of Richard II. by the attainders of Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, Duke of Ireland, Michael De la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and many others; and in the reign of Henry VII. it was further enriched by the acquisition of the lands of the attainted Yorkists, and of the Earldoms of Salisbury and Warwick.

The Duchy of Lancaster, which had belonged to Henry Bolingbroke in right of his father John of Gaunt, was, on his assumption of the crown as Henry IV., confirmed to him and his heirs as a distinct possession; being very greatly enlarged in the following reign by the annexation thereto of the lands in England and Wales which descended to the King from his mother, one of the daughters and heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton.

On the attainder of Henry VI. the duchy was, however, declared to be forfeited to the Crown, and vested in the King and his heirs for ever, but under separate governance from the other inheritances of the Crown, in 1 Henry VII. an Act being passed for the resumption of such of the duchy lands as had been dismembered from it during the reign of Edward IV.

(To be continued.)

Beatrice Cenci.

BY RICHARD DAVEY.

PART III.

THE other members of the family, excepting Bernardo, are not of great interest. Some time after the death of his first wife, the Signor Francesco invited a cousin, a certain Signora Porzia Cenci, to come and live with him as housekeeper. We know very little of her, except that in 1585 she had a jewelled girdle stolen by a servant who escaped with it to Foligno. She never seems to have recovered it, although an agent of the Signor Francesco, named Gaudenzio Sartori, appears to have taken a great deal of trouble about the matter, and to have written her several apologetic letters excusing delays and non-success of mission. Lavinia Cenci was an illegitimate daughter, and must have been a favourite with her father, for to her in 1597 he makes the present of a carriage and pair of horses, as a proof "of his great love for her"—*ab sincerem amorem et benevolentiam*. She was married in 1593 to the lawyer, Simone Morea. Her dower, including 1,000 crowns left by her grandmother Beatrice Arias, amounted in all to 3,500 crowns. Two years after the marriage, Morea was convicted of an odious offence and imprisoned for eighteen months. On leaving prison a package of thirty-three pawn-tickets which had been taken from him was returned to him. Evidently the son-in-law was after the heart of the father-in-law. Both were cursed with infamous desires. This Morea is mentioned as one of the executors to the old man's will. Signor Dalbono in his work on the Cenci gives extracts from this will, and says that it affords genuine evidence that Francesco hated his womankind, "since therein is no mention made of them." This is not only an error, but a gross misstatement. The items omitted by Signor Dalbono refer to the two daughters: "I leave my daughters, Antonina and Beatrice Cenci, now at school in a convent on Monte Citorio, the sum of 18,000 crowns each, over which their husbands, if they ever marry, are to have no control. I moreover leave them the rents of the houses I possess by the Custom House,

worth 120 crowns yearly." "I leave Lavinia, my illegitimate daughter, 5,000 crowns if she marries, and 1,000 if she becomes a nun." Evidently he did not neglect the pecuniary interests of his daughters. Oddly enough his wife, Lucrezia, is not mentioned in the will; but then by Roman law she was entitled during her lifetime to a third of whatever property was left. She had three daughters by her first husband, who seem to have been pensioned off by the Signor Francesco. After the murder they were obliged to invite the aid of the Pope to assist them in recovering it and to enable them to retire into a convent, otherwise they stood "the risk of dying of starvation." They reminded the Pontiff that although "Francesco Cenci was very parsimonious, nevertheless he was well aware of their poverty; and when he took their mother from them as his wife, he determined to assist by promising to give them three thousand crowns between them, and their daily food, whereby they have hitherto been able to live decently and sustain their wretched existences." It is satisfactory to know that their petition was granted, and they entered the nunnery of Santa Caterina.

The Cencis are usually supposed to have lived in the grand and gloomy palace known by their name, and which Shelley has described in his inimitably gloomy and weird manner in the preface to his tragedy. They did live there sometimes, but Francesco often inhabited a smaller house near the Customs, or Dogana. He was murdered at Petrella, a village on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, situated on a very high mountain at the end of a deep and terrible gorge in the Abruzzi. The Castle, or Rocca, was inaccessible on three sides, but entered from the village high street, and was fortified. It is thus described in MS., dated 1642: "The Castle, or Baron's Court (Baronal Corte), stands on a mountain. It has on the ground-floor a dining-room and six chambers, and a covered courtyard, or cloister, leading to the kitchen. Underground are the prisons. Upstairs the two state-rooms, and a small saloon and two bedchambers. There is a square in front, and a largish chapel; also a fine piscina." In 1642 it was dismantled by order of the Neapolitan Government. Pompeo Colonna, the last baron, was arrested and

taken prisoner to Naples. At present, the parish priest says, "there is only a mass of ruins. The tower is down. The first-floor exists; the rest has fallen in." The Cencis did not own it. They simply hired it from Martio Colonna for the summer season of 1598, in order, we are told, to economize, and perhaps so that Francesco might have his family more under his immediate supervision.

The best plan of narrating the famous murder will be, I think, to give it in the words of the accused. I translate literally, but have tried my best to give the familiar style of the period, one in which the ladies spoke very little better than servants would nowadays. The English reader must not imagine Beatrice and her mother to have been great ladies. They belonged to a well-known and wealthy family, but lived a hugger-mugger life, like most of the smaller barons of the period. No doubt they were very untidy in their attire, keeping their finery, as their descendants do to this day, for the streets and great receptions.

The following is an extract from the "Confession of Lucrezia Petroni Cenci." She was, as already said, a short, plump woman, over forty, very stout, with a pale complexion, exceedingly black hair and dark eyes :

"EX CONFESSIO DOMINÆ LUCRETIAE."

Die 8 Augusti, 1599, fol. 947, vix elevata in tortura dixit.

"Let me down, for the love and passion of Christ. (Is let down.) Gentlemen, I'll tell you the whole truth. About three months before his death, the said Signor Francesco, my husband, struck Beatrice with a cowhide, because she had written against him to Rome, to her brother. Beatrice said to me she would make him repent having hit her, and she then began to talk a great deal in secret with Olimpio, sometimes on the staircase and sometimes at the window, and now and again through the keyhole of the upper room. Then, when Signor Francesco went after his two sons who ran away to Rome—Paul and Bernardo, I mean—or he slept out of the house, either at the Capuchin Convent or at Santa di Pompa, Beatrice and Olimpio used to come and sit in our room and talk by the hour with the Signora Beatrice, and I used to go to bed and leave them chatting (*chiacchie-*

rare). I began at last to think that Beatrice was plotting against her father's life, and urging Olimpio to kill him. I thought this at least fifteen days before they killed him. One day Beatrice said to me, 'I am going to kill my father.' I said, 'Oh, Beatrice, what a wicked thing to do! We shall all be hanged for it; and Signor Martio (Martio Colonna, the landlord) will never rest till we are punished for doing such a bad act in his house, which we have only hired from him.' She answered that she did not care. She was full of it (*ne era piena et haveva animo grandissimo*). When we got back to Rome, Signora Beatrice told me Olimpio had spoken to my stepson Giacomo, and he quite approved of her plan, and said to me later on, 'Let us kill him, and have done with it.' I said, 'Well, do not kill him on the 8th of September, for that is the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and she might perform some great miracle and kill us all whilst we are about it.' With this Olimpio and Martio agreed, and said they would wait until the 9th. After supper on this fatal night—it was a Wednesday—I left my husband, and went out of the room and found Martio, Olimpio and Beatrice all talking together in the corridor. I went into Beatrice's room, and she followed me, and sat down on her bed, and began talking about the blows her father had dealt her, and that she was resolved to kill him. I did not give the Signor Francesco any opium before he went to bed. I did give him some, however, one night, but not then. I was not in the room when they killed my husband. I waited outside in my daughter's chamber. It was Beatrice who mixed me up in the matter. It was she who told me to talk about it with Martio; and I think she did so in order to inculpate me, as well as herself. (*Fu Beatrice che mi mando a parlare con Martio, et credo lo facero a posta per incolparmi ancora me.*)

EXTRACT FROM THE CONFESSIO OF
BEATRICE CENCI.

"Being tortured, endures it for a few moments, and then cries out: 'For the love of Christ let me go, and I'll tell the truth! I had my father killed because he beat me. Lucrezia knows very well that he struck her with his spurs (Lucrezia denies this), and she

was just as anxious as I was to get rid of him. I said, "We ought not to stir in the matter without the consent of our brother."—Write down this. Signora Lucrezia said to me—now that I remember it—more than once : "Let us get rid of that traitor of a father of yours. He promised to give my daughters 2,000 crowns, and now he will not do it, and they are obliged to leave the convent; and God knows where they'll go or what will become of them, because your father will not give me a penny to help them." She, Lucrezia, often urged me to kill him.—It was Lucrezia, I say, who advised me to get Olimpio to kill my father. My brother Giacomo promised Olimpio a dower for his daughter Victoria if he would help him to murder the old man. When Olimpio came back from Rome one day, and after he had seen my eldest brother, he said to me that he, Giacomo, had promised him 2,000 scudi as a dower for Victoria if he killed my father. I remember that Lucrezia said once that it would be difficult to get rid of the old man, because he had seven spirits like a cat." (An Italian version of the old saying, "Nine lives like a cat.")

Comment is needless. It is very clear that this amiable young woman did her best to spread the guilt over the entire group, and that her equally criminal stepmother and brothers did the same. It would really seem that Francesco did beat and ill-treat both the women, for Bernardo says in his evidence :

"Did your father ever beat or ill-treat either your sister or her mother?"

BERNARDO : "Yes, sir; my father beat Beatrice very hard because she wrote to our uncle, Marcello Santa Croce, complaining of ill-treatment. The letter begged that Signor Marcello and other friends should come to the rescue, and take our sister from my father, for she would not stay with him any more."

BEATRICE (Evidence on January 15, 1599, fol. 92) : "I declare that it is not true that my father ever beat me, or that he broke my middle finger of the left hand." (Holding it up, showed that it was naturally deformed.)

LUCRETIA : "No, my husband never ill-treated me. We sometimes had *disgusti*—rows—as husband and wife naturally have, but nothing serious. He always treated me well."

Notwithstanding these contradictions, pos-

sibly suggested by the lawyers, there is no doubt but that Signor Francesco did ill-treat both of the women, for two good reasons. In the first place, he suspected that they intended killing him; and in the second, he strongly objected to the intimacy which existed between his daughter and Olimpio.

The evidence of the parish priest, which was taken on January 30th, 1599, is important, since it also confirms the report that the murder was committed out of revenge for cruelties inflicted upon Beatrice and her step-mother.

REV. DON MARZIO THOMASIO (Rector of Petrella) : "The body of Francesco Cenci was buried by me in our parish church. My colleagues, Rev. Fathers Francis and Dominico Canonicci, and myself received the body at the Castle, where we found it left where it had fallen or been thrown—that is, beneath a sycamore-tree in the garden under the terrace. I got Philip Evangelista, Pasquale di Giordano, and another man to lift and bring the said corpse round to the front-door, and there we washed the blood off the face and neck, and dressed it decently, in order to put it in the coffin. I noticed three wounds of great depth—two in the temples and one at the back of the neck; but I really cannot say whether they were caused by accident or done on purpose. The women came round and made a terrible noise and such ado, that I got confused; so that I could not see whether there were any pieces of wood or steel still sticking in the wounds. We buried the body that night. Soon after I heard it rumoured that he had been murdered by Olimpio Calvetti and Matteo or Martio Catalano. They told me they had killed him and thrown him over the terrace where it was ruined and unsafe, to make believe he had fallen down in the dark whilst going to the *cabinetto*."

TULIO (a servant) : "It was said all over the neighbourhood, even as far as Siculi and Poggio, that the Signor Francesco was murdered, with his women's consent, by Olimpio and Martio."

CÆSAR CENCI (a cousin) : "A peasant brought me in Rome a letter from Beatrice, telling me of her father's death. This peasant said the body was quite warm when he left Petrella."

THE PARISH PRIEST: "Everybody said that if he was murdered, it was because he treated his two women so badly, and kept them such close prisoners in the Castle."

PLAUTILLA (wife of Olimpio): "Please, sirs, I am the wife of Olimpio, who is accused of this deed. The Signora Lucrezia sent for me three days after her husband's death, and told me not to be afraid, for my husband had had nothing to do with it; and that it was Martio who flung him over the terrace. I knew the contrary, and that she only said this to tranquillize me. I then went to the Signora Beatrice, and implored her to tell me the truth. She repeated exactly what her mother had said."

MARTIO: "I was once put in prison by the Signor Francesco, and this is why. I took a letter about a year ago to Rome, from the Signora Beatrice to her brother Giacomo, in which she entreated him to help her, for she could not stay with her father, and preferred even to enter a cloister. Her father, she said, treated her unkindly. This letter was shown to Signor Paolo Santa Croce, her uncle, and when I got back to Petrella he had written about it to Signor Francesco, who was furious with me for taking letters from his daughter to Rome, and thereupon threw me into prison for two days."

LELIO: "The cause of the murder, I always was given to understand, was that the Signor Francesco beat his daughter Beatrice and his wife Lucrezia."

GEORGIO (another servant): "When my mistress called me on the morning after Signor Francesco died, I felt sure they had got rid of him at last, because I know he had recently struck the Signora Lucrezia with a cowhide, which he always kept hung up in his room."

PLAUTILLA: "The Signor Francesco went twice to Rome. The first time he allowed the women to go about freely; but the second time he shut them both up, and they could only get their food given them through a pane in the window. Santo (a servant) used to feed them, and he kept the key. The aforesaid ladies made a great outcry about this treatment, and one day managed to get out. 'Lock yourself up in there if you like,' said they to Santo, 'but we go in no more.'

So after that he used to let them go about where they liked, and only locked them up at night, in case the Signor Francesco might come home unexpectedly."

BERNARDO: "I know my father was furious with Beatrice for writing to my maternal uncle, Santa Croce, and that he beat her for it."

This is all the evidence concerning the cause of the murder. In it there is not one word about that unnamable outrage of which the poets have spoken. Cruelty, yes; but not incest.

(*To be continued.*)



Glimpses of Old London, from Scarce Tracts, Poems, and Satires.

BY G. L. GOMME, F.S.A.

PART II.—CITIZEN PLEASURE FIELDS AND SPORTING GROUND.

T is no doubt difficult to imagine London encircled by a wall, and surrounded by green fields, pastures, and agricultural lands. And yet such was the case to within quite historical times.

FitzStephen, as early as the reign of Henry II., gives an account of the general agricultural aspect of London citizenship. Everywhere, he says, without the houses of the suburbs, the citizens have gardens extensive and beautiful, and one joining to the other (*contigue*). Then he describes the arable lands of the citizens as bringing plentiful corn, and being like the rich fields of Asia. And then come the pastures. On the north side there are pasture fields, and pleasant meadows intersected by streams, the waters of which turn the wheels of mills with delightful sounds. Very near lies a large forest in which are wild beasts, bucks and does, wild boars, and bulls.* Now, such a description as this, coming from a Norman chronicler at a time when Roman and Teuton had both become Londoners, and when London was the capital of the nation, tells a

* *Liber Custumarum*, vol. i., p. 4.

great deal more than the meagre words of the Latin narrative. It must be noted that the citizens owned all these lands—garden grounds, arable lands, and pasture. The citizens then were agriculturists. The gardens were contiguous, and the pasture and forest were in common. This much we do know ; and by analogy we may conclude that such a state of things shows a remarkable parallel to the constitution of other English municipal towns.

The very name of Long Acre, preserved in modern street nomenclature, tells its tale of old times. It was one of the long narrow strips of arable into which the lands of the citizen community were divided. Such strips, possessing exactly the same name, "Long Acre," exist in many parts of the country as portions of the village community, as it survives in England to this day, and we cannot disassociate the London "Long Acre" from the same set of facts. When once we can grasp the conception, and Fitz-Stephen enables us to do so, that London was once agricultural London—that her citizens depended upon their garden ground, arable lands, and pastures for much of the means of existence—we may realize how vast is the difference between the old life and the modern life of London citizenship.

What, then, has become of the garden ground, arable lands, and pastures of London citizenship? Some of it became corporate property, and remains so to this day, the city still owning their conduit mead estate in Marylebone, which was once citizen meadow land, lying by the conduit which supplied water to the city. But this last outlying relic of old citizen land does not tell us of the alienations which have taken place during these last eight hundred years. Just let us turn, for instance, to the *Liber Albus*,* and study that most instructive list of grants and agreements made by the city. "Concessio majoris et communitatis" is the formula. And the mayor and community grant extra-mural property away with a free hand—"de domo vocata Bedlem extra Bysshopis-gate, de domo extra Newgate de quadam domo extra Crepulgate." And besides these there are such instructive documents as "Memorandum de quadam Placea terræ extra

* Vol. i., p. 552.

Crepulgate capta in manum Civitatis."* I cannot conceive a more instructive piece of work than a map of the city property, restored from the archives and documents of the city, to show the possessions of the earliest times.

Stow gives us some information about the enclosure of lands in his day. At Hounds-ditch, he says, "was a fair field," which, "as all other about the city, was inclosed, reserving open passage thereinto for such as were disposed." Again, he says, "And now concerning the inclosure of common grounds about this city whereof I mind not much to argue, Edward Hall setteth down a note of his time, to wit, in the 5th or 6th of Henry VIII. Before this time, saith he, the inhabitants of the town about London, as Iseldon, Hoxton, Shoreditch and others, had so inclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that neither the young men of the city might shoot, nor the ancient persons walk for their pleasures in those fields ; but that either their bows and arrows were taken away or broken, or the honest persons arrested or indicted, saying that no Londoner ought to go out of the city, but in the highways. This saying so grieved the Londoners, that suddenly this year a great number of the city assembled themselves in a morning, and a turner in a fool's coat came crying through the city, 'Shovels and spades !—shovels and spades !' So many of the people followed, that it was a wonder to behold ; and within a short space all the hedges about the city were cast down, and the ditches filled up and everything made plain, such was the diligence of these workmen."

This is an instructive and interesting account of old life in London. Not all the citizen land was allowed to be enclosed. Some of it remained citizen land, changing its uses as the circumstances of the time changed. Thus Finsbury Field† and Smith-field were used for games and sports, as open lands outside the city, long after their original purpose had been forgotten.

* In the *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London* we read how Henry III., in 1165, came to London and took all the foreign lands of the citizens into his hands, foreign lands being those without the liberties of the city (see p. 83).

† See *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*, p. 174, for an account of how nearly this was lost to the citizens in 1173.

One or two further instances of the usages of the citizens outside the city boundaries may perhaps be useful. According to the *Chronicles of the Mayor of London*, in 1232 the citizens of London mustered in arms at the Mile End, and were arrayed in the London Chepe. And it is well known Mile End long continued to be the place where the citizens mustered their train-bands. On the western side of London, also, there is some indication of an ancient municipal jurisdiction extending far beyond the city wall, for in 1257, as recorded in the chronicle above quoted, "Upon the King approaching Westminster the mayor and citizens went forth to salute him, as the usage is, as far as Kniwtebrigge." On the north, too, we have similar evidence. When James I. entered London in 1603, he was met by the Lord Mayor; and the description of his progress by a contemporary writer—John Savile—is very curious. The following is a passage: "After his Majestie was come from Kingsland, there begun a division amongst the people which way his Highnesse would take when he came at Islington, but in fine he came the higher way, by the West end of the Church; which streete hath euer since been, and I gesse ever wilbe, called *King's-street*, by the inhabitants of the same. When his Highnes had passed Islington, and another place called *New-rents*, and entered into a close called *Wood's-close*, by a way that was cut of purpose through the banck, for his Majestie's more convenient passage into the Charter-house-garden, the people that were there assembled, I compare to nothing more conveniently then to imagine euer grasse to have been metamorphosed into a man."

But the fact is, London seems to have exercised jurisdiction over the whole of the county of Middlesex, and in one particular it is thought to carry us back to very early days. Henry I. granted a charter confirming to the city of London the county of Middlesex in fee farm. Such a grant as this points to much more than a King's favour, even if we take into account Henry's peculiar position. There is evidence of ancient rights claimed by the citizens, "and the citizens of London may have their chaces to hunt as well and fully as their ancestors have had." Mr. Green places these ancient rights far back in the past.

"Middlesex," he says, "possibly represents a district which depended on London in this earlier [i.e. 500-577] as it certainly did in a later time; and the privileges of the chase which its citizens enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages in the woodland that covered the heights of Hampstead, and along the southern bank of the river as far as the Cray, may have been drawn from the rights of the Roman burghers."

This historical evidence of the interest of Londoners in ancient days in the land surrounding their walled city is in more ways than one most instructive to the modern inquirer. The great era of encroachment was not in the days noted above, when the citizens took the matter into their own hands, but in later times, when citizens transgressed and the Crown tried to stem the tide of growing bricks and mortar.

Everyone knows the mad attempt of Queen Elizabeth to restrict the building of houses beyond the area to which it had reached in her days; and her successors on the throne followed her policy, but equally without avail. The Act of Elizabeth passed in 1580, but that it failed of its purpose there can be little doubt, for on the 22nd of June, 1602, another proclamation was issued, with more stringent provisions. It directs that houses built in defiance of previous Acts and proclamations should be pulled down, and the timber given to the poor of the parish in which the offence was committed. All shops and sheds built in the seven years past are to be pulled down, and tenements divided into several habitations are to have their inmates turned out, and offenders to be made answerable to the Star Chamber. This was one of the last Acts of Elizabeth's reign, but her successor, King James, on July 11, the following year, issued a proclamation to the same effect. It was a season of infection, and it complains that one of the "chiefest occasions of the great plague and mortality" was caused by "idle, indigent, and dissolute persons," and the "pestering of them in small and strait rooms." Like all the others, this proclamation appears to have been ineffectual, for only four years afterwards, on October 12, 1607, another appeared, declaring emphatically that unless by special license "there shalbe no more new buildings in or neere the sayde city of London." It is

remarkable, however, that "two miles of the citie gates" is the limit specified, which is one mile less than in previous edicts; the other provisions are much the same as those which formerly appeared. The value of this authoritative declaration is shown in another proclamation, dated July 25, 1608, complaining of the evasions through the "neglect of officers and justices," and the "covetous desire of gain." Seven years now pass over before we hear any more attempts by authority to arrest the inevitable law of progress. But in 1615 a proclamation, dated July 16, appeared, which in its composition is remarkable, and was doubtless by the hand of James himself. It says, "Our citie of London is become the greatest, or next the greatest citie of the Christian world; it is more than time that there be an *utter cessation* of further new buildlings." "This," it says, "shalbe the furthest and utmost period and end of them." It commends the recent paving of Smithfield, bringing the new stream into the west part of the city and suburbs, the pesthouse, Sutton's hospital, Britaine's Burse, the re-edifying of Aldgate, Hicks' Hall, etc., but it speaks in great determination of putting a stop to further increase, and no one is to expect licenses again. Exactly fifteen years now pass away in silence, when we find Charles I., on July 16, 1630, issuing a proclamation to the same intent as those that went before it. Even under the Protectorate they did not cease to endeavour to repress, by the same vain and ineffectual efforts, the expanse of the city into the green fields beyond it.*

We can now pass on to some of the details of this phase of old London life, and then we see the citizens pouring forth from the gates into the fields beyond. In a poem written *circa* 1576, entitled *A warning to London by the fall of Antwerp*,† by Rafe Norris, we see by one of the allusions that the walls of London were looked upon as important elements in the city's safety—

Keep sure thy trench, prepare thy shot.

And again—

Erect your walles, give out your charge.

Londoners made the fields beyond the walls their constant place of resort. A ballad, *temp.*

* See *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1858, p. 377.

† This is printed by the Percy Society, vol. i.

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Elizabeth, published by the Percy Society (vol. i.), and entitled *A proper new balade expressyng the fames concerning a warning to all London dames*, by Stephen Peell, says :

And oft when you goe, fayre dames, on a rowe
In to the feeldes so greene,
You sit and vewe the beautifull hewe
Of flowres that there be scene.

A little later they journeyed out further, and a tract by Ward in the British Museum gives us, both by its title and its contents, a curious picture of the times in 1699.* It is entitled *A Walk to Islington, with a description of New Tunbridge Wells and Sadler's Music house* (London, 1699). That Islington was very famous as a resort for Londoners is to be gathered from the fact that the Pied Bull Inn there was supposed to have been Sir Walter Raleigh's country-house, and the first place in England where tobacco was smoked. A few verses of this curious tract may be quoted, though we fear that many readers of the *Antiquary* would not care to see all of it printed in these pages :

In holiday time, when ladies of London
Walk out with their spouses or think themselves
undone ;

* * * * *
Then I, like my neighbours, to sweeten my life,
Took a walk in the fields.

* * * * *
We sauntered about near the New River head,

* * * * *
We rambled about till we came to a gate
Where abundance of rabble peep'd in at a gate
To gaze at the ladies amidst of their revels,
As fine all as angels, but wicked as devils.

* * * * *
We entred the walks to the rest of the sinners,
Where lime-trees were placed at regular distance,
And scrapers were giving their wofull assistance ;
Where bawds with their jilts, and good wives with
their daughters

Were met to intrigue and to tipple the waters.

* * * * *
Some citizens, too, one might easily know
By his formally handing his " Whither d'ye go ?"
For in the old order you're certain to find 'em
Advance, with their tallow-fac'd daughters behind 'em.

The fast women are then described, and the writer proceeds :

The sparks that attended to make up the show
Were various, but first we'll begin with the beau,

* Pepys records, in 1661, walking in " Grays-Inn-Walks, and thence to Islington, and there ate and drank at the house my father and we were wont of old to go to."

Whose wig was so bushy, so long, and so fair,
The best part of man was quite covered with hair;
That he looked (as a body may modestly speak it)
Like a calf, with bald face, peeping out of a thicket;
His locks drudg his coat, which such filthiness har-
bour,
Tho' made of black cloth, 'tis as white as a barber;
His sword, I may say, to my best of belief
Was as long as a spit for a sir-loin of beef,
Being graced with ribbon of scarlet or blue,
That hung from the hilt to the heel of his shoe;
His gate is a strut which he learns from the stage.*

The author of this curious tract then goes on to describe the company to be met, and he does not give a very flattering account of it. Finally :

When pretty well tired with seeing each novice
Bow down to his idol as if sh' was a goddess,
We walk'd by an outhouse we found had been made
For raffling and lott'ries and such sort of trade,
And, casting an eye into one of the sheds,
Saw parcel of grave paralitical heads
Sit sipping of coffee and poring on paper,
And some smoaking silently round a wax taper;
Whilst others at gammon, grown peevish with age,
Were wrangling for pen'worts of tea made of sage.
In a hovel adjoining, a cumming sly fox
Stood shov'ling of money down into a box;
Who by an old project was picking the pockets
Of fools in huge wigs and of jilts in gold lockets;
Who're strangely bewitch'd to this national evil,
Tho' th' odds that's against 'em would cozen the
devil.

The Board ev'ry time, I observed, was a winner.

The tract then describes the dancing-place, and at last leads us away to Sadler's Wells, where—

We entered the house, were conducted upstairs,
Where lovers o'er cheesecakes were seated by pairs;
The organ and fiddles were scraping and humming,
The guests for more ale on the tables were drumming,
And poor Tom, amaz'd, crying, "Coming, sir, coming."

The remainder of the description given in this curious tract is full of interest, though too long to quote now. From such sources as these can be gained a true picture of London life in the past.

A curious legend about Moorfields and its

* So late as 1736 Islington waters were recommended. A letter, dated April 21, of that year, printed in the fifth report of the Historical MSS. Commission, says: "Dr. Crowe thinks that if you could abide cold bathing it would go a great way in your cure. He has also a great opinion of Islington waters for your case." In 1755 was printed a curious book, entitled *Islington; or, the Humours of the New Tunbridge Wells*. They were apparently first opened about 1684, for two curious tracts are thus entitled, *A Morning's Ramble; or, Islington Wells Burlesqt*, 1684, and *An Exclamation from Tunbridge and Epsom against the new-found Wells at Islington*, 1684.

origin as citizen ground is contained in a ballad printed by the Percy Society (vol. i.). It is called *The Life and death of the two ladies of Finsbury, that gave Moorfields to the city for the maidens of London to dry cloaths*. A verse or two describes the events as follows :

And likewise when those maidens died
They gave those pleasant fields
Unto our London citizens
Which they most bravely build.
And now are made most pleasant walks
That great contentment yield
To maidens of London so fair.
Where lovingly both man and wife
May take the evening air,
And London dames, to dry their cloathes,
May hither still repair.

In Richard Johnson's *The Pleasant Walks of Moor-Fields*, 1607, we have an interesting addition to this legend. Stow, in 1599, gives some information as to the improvements going on in his time in Moorfields,* and, says Mr. Collier, "in the very words which Johnson eight or nine years afterwards repeated; but Stow did not live to witness, or at all events to record, the means resorted to by the citizens to complete what had been so well begun. Stow died on April 5, 1605, just anterior to the laying-out of the walks and making the plantations, which are the chief eulogys" of Johnson's tract.† Johnson calls Moorfields "those sweet and delightfull walks of More fields, as it seemes a garden to this city, and a pleasurable place of sweet ayres for cittizens to walke in." After relating the legend that the fields were given to the City in the time of Edward the Confessor by the daughters of Sir William Fines, he says, "these walkes beares the fashion of a crosse, equelly divided four wayes, and likewise squared about with pleasant wals: the trees thereof makes a gallant show." There were 291 of these trees, and "many of them doe carry proper names . . . the first of them at the corner of the middle walke westward was first of all placed by Sir Leonard Hollyday, then Lord Maior . . . there standeth neere a tree called the 'two brothers,' planted by two little boys, and sonnes to a citizen here in London;" and other special names of trees

* Survey, edit. Thoms, p. 159.

† Collier's *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature*, vol. ii.

are then curiously recorded. The dimensions of Moorfields are given as "within the walles some ten akars, which was so measured out, and by a plough made levell as it is now, a thing that never hath been seene before to goe so neere London." Stocks with "a huge chaine of yron lockt to the wall" were provided "as a punishment for those that lay any filthy thing within these fields." The general aspect of outer London is thus alluded to: "What faire summer houses, with loftie towers and turrets are here builded in these fields and in other places the suburbs of the citie, not so much for use and profit as for shewe and pleasure." Other interesting details of the planting of Moorfields are given in this curious tract; but, alas! it is to be regretted that the prognostication that "no doubt this field will be maintained, time out of minde, in as good order as it is nowe kept," has not been fulfilled. But here we have one instance how useful it is to refer back to these old days, in order to find out some of the lost rights of London citizenship.

These notes are, I hope, useful to those who wish to understand the social history of the past. Old ballads contain much that does not exist in chronicles or other materials for history; and in the ballads which have in this article afforded amusement for our readers I can trace, I think, the only record of the continuation of the very early connection between London and outer London.



Wearing the Hat in the Presence of the Sovereign.

 HE De Courcy privilege of wearing the hat in the presence of the Sovereign having occasioned some controversy in *Notes and Queries*, the following literal translation of a grant of a similar nature, made by Henry VIII. to Robert Morgan, of Little Comberton, co. Worcester, may be interesting to the readers of *The Antiquary*.

In the De Courcy case the grant is said to have been made by King John to John de

Courcy and his descendants. In the present case the grant was made by Henry VIII. to Robert Morgan for his life only, and not to his heirs nor descendants; although the heirs of the Sovereign were bound to recognise the privilege during the lifetime of the grantee. It is most probable that grants of this kind made by Henry VIII. were for the lifetime of the grantee only.

A great deal has been said upon this subject, but it does not appear that any grant has been printed as evidence for the judgment of the impartial reader. The following document is interesting as illustrating the seemingly innumerable offices one was liable to be called upon to discharge in those days; from which a total exemption must have been very desirable. In what manner Robert Morgan distinguished himself to merit such "liberty" does not appear. I believe he was in some way connected with the Morgan family of Tredegar and Llantarnam, co. Monmouth; but I have not yet completed his pedigree.

The original copy of this grant is with the State Papers in the Public Record Office. It is written in abbreviated Latin, of which the following is a literal translation. I shall be happy to show a copy of the Latin record to any of your readers who may desire to see it.

"Privy Seal—Chancery, 6 Nov. 1522. No. 14-197.

"Be it remembered that on the tenth day of November in the year under written this writ was delivered to the Lord Chancellor of England at Westminster to be executed.

"Henry the Eighth by the grace of God of England and France—King—defender of the faith and Lord of Ireland to the Most Reverend Father in Christ Thomas by divine mercy of the title of St. Cecilia across the Tiber priest of the holy Roman Church Cardinal on the side of the legatee of the Apostolic see our Chancellor greeting.

"We command you that under our great seal being in your custody you cause our letters patent to be made in form following—

"The King to whom &c. greeting Know ye that we of our special grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion have granted and by these presents grant as much as in us lieth to our beloved Robert Morgan gentleman otherwise called Robert Morgan of Little Comberton in the County of Worcester

gentleman or by whatever other name surname or addition of name or surname the said Robert may be deemed or named that he for all his life may have this liberty, namely—that he should not be put impanelled or sworn in assizes inquisitions attaunts or other bonds or juries whatsoever although the same or any of them may affect us or our heirs or the pleas of the crown of us or of our heirs and although we or our heirs solely or jointly be one party. We have granted also and by these presents do grant to the said Robert that he hereafter shall not be made a Sheriff Escheator Coroner Bailiff Receiver Constable of us or of our heirs in any County or City town or borough of our kingdom of England nor Collector assessor or taxer of any tenths fifteenths or other tallages taxes or subsidies whatsoever granted or in anywise hereafter to be granted to us or our heirs by authority of parliament or otherwise or in anywise to be imposed by us or our heirs upon our liege men in our Kingdom nor Collector of any reasonable aid to make the first born son or any other son of us or our heirs a knight or to marry the first born daughter or any other daughter of us or our heirs. And that the said Robert hereafter should not be made nor elected a knight of any county nor burgess of any borough within our Realm aforesaid to come to any parliaments of us or our heirs hereafter to be summoned or held nor in anywise to be ordained assigned or become keeper of the peace or any Justice or Commissioner or assignee to preserve the peace of us or of our heirs or to enquire hear and determine concerning labourers servants artificers or of any trespasses riots or other offences contempts forfeitures or evil deeds or sewers or other things whatsoever nor Justice labourer or artificer nor any other Justice Chief Constable traveller arrayer or leader of men at arms or in any business of us or of our heirs or any other whomsoever. And that the same Robert hereafter shall not be elected or ordained or in anywise become a mayor sheriff Bailiff coroner escheator Chamberlain or other officer whatsoever in any County City town or borough nor any Bailiff officer or minister of us or our heirs within our Realm aforesaid. And that he should [not] be assigned ordained called or

compelled or in anywise straitened in any manner by us or our heirs to undertake military order or the grade state or order of sergeant at law or any office or charge above recited or to have exercise to receive or occupy in any manner any other office or charge or honour or honours nor to be a juror upon any trial array of any assize before any Justices of us or of our heirs assigned to take the assizes or other Justices whatsoever. And that he should not be put nor impanelled in anygreat assize within our kingdom of England between any parties whatsoever against his will although we or our heirs be one party. And further of our abundant grace we have granted to the aforesaid Robert that [if] he be elected to any offices or honour or honours aforesaid or any of the premises or any other office or charge or honour whatever, and he shall refuse to do or receive those offices honour and honours then the said Robert shall in no wise incur forfeit or lose any contempt loss penalty or forfeiture or any issues fines and redemptions [and] amerccements whatsoever by reason of the omission or non-omission or reception of the same or any of the same. But that our present grant of exemption may be allowed before whatever our Justice and Barons of the Exchequer of us and our heirs and in any place or court of record throughout all our Realm aforesaid upon the safe shewing of these presents without any writ precept or command or anything else thereupon to be had or prosecuted or any proclamation to be made to the said Robert. We have granted also and by these presents grant that he henceforth *during his life* in the presence of us or our heirs or in the presence of any other or others of our Realm whomsoever at any times hereafter *be covered with his hat on his head and not take off or lay aside his hat from his head* for any reason or cause against his will or pleasure. And therefore we command firmly enjoining you all and singular and any Justices Judges Barons of our Exchequer Sheriffs Escheators Coroners Mayors reeves Bailiffs and other officers and ministers of us and our heirs whatsoever and all our lieges and faithful subjects that you do not vex disturb in anywise or aggrieve the said Robert against this our grant and against the tenor exigence or effect of these presents.

Any statute act ordinance or provision thereof to the contrary issued made or provided or any other thing cause or matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding.

"In witness whereof, &c. Given under our privy seal at our Castle of Hertford the sixth day of the month of November in the fourteenth year of our Reign."

G. B. M.



Reviews.

The Works of Thomas Middleton. Edited by A. H. BULLEN, B.A. Vols. iv. to viii. (London: John C. Nimmo, 1885-6.)

Messrs. Nimmo have completed the publication of Mr. Bullen's valuable edition of Middleton's works, and it forms a most handsome set. The first four volumes were reviewed in the number of the *Antiquary* for October last; the present four volumes contain some of Middleton's best work, some of his most interesting work, but also some of his worst. Of *The Wisdom of Solomon* Mr. Bullen writes: "I have read at various times much indifferent verse, and much execrable verse, but I can conscientiously state that *The Wisdom of Solomon Paraphrased* is the most damnable piece of flatness that has ever fallen in my way." We have no doubt the editor is right in his criticism; but we have not had resolution enough to read the poem. From casual inspection, it appears to be one of those things that only an editor can be expected to read. Still, it is well to be here.

The sixth volume contains three of the best plays—*The Changeling*, *The Spanish Gipsy*, and *Women beware Women*; and, strange to say, none of these were published during the author's lifetime. Of the first two, Rowley assisted in the composition, but *Women beware Women* is entirely by Middleton. *The Witch* (vol. v.) is probably the best known of Middleton's plays; but those who, not having seen it, have placed it in a high position on account of its supposed connection with *Macbeth*, will probably be much disappointed when they come to read it.

A Game of Chess (vol. vii.) is especially interesting from its intimate connection with a curious passage in English history. The play was acted in August, 1624, for nine days continuously with great applause, as it expressed the popular feeling with respect to Prince Charles's broken-off Spanish marriage; and many years afterwards this play was remembered as one of the most popular ever acted. Gondomar was indignant, and protested to the King. Secretary Conway wrote to the Lords of the Council: "His Majesty hath received information from the Spanish Ambassador of a very scandalous comedy acted publicly by the King's players, wherein they take the boldness and presumption, in a rude and dishonourable fashion, to represent on the stage the persons of his Majesty the King of Spain, the Conde de Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalatro, etc." The Lords of the Council

acted on this, and the play was suppressed. Mr. Bullen has taken especial pains in the elucidation of the difficulties in this play, and his notes are very valuable.

These eight volumes are a distinct addition to the well-edited series of our early dramatists, and they also form a set which will be an ornament to any library in which they are placed.

The Early Life of Anne Boleyn: a Critical Essay.
By J. H. ROUND. (London: Elliot Stock, 1886.)
8vo., pp. vi-47.

Mr. Round is well known to our readers as a close reasoner, a skilled researcher, and a careful writer. All these qualities are exhibited in the *brochure* before us; and if he is merciless in the exposure of errors, he is so on the high and pure grounds of historical truth. A great deal has lately been written about Anne Boleyn, and Mr. Round's essay does much to clear away some of the confusion to which careless writing has brought the subject. It relates to her early history. Of her father Mr. Round has much of great importance to say, proving that his marriage with a daughter of the Howards was not so much an advantage to him as others have made out. Another point Mr. Round clears up is the date of Anne's birth. He fixes it at 1501; and if this is not quite conclusively proved, one thing is, namely, that she was the eldest of the two daughters of Sir Thomas Boleyn. Then Mr. Round takes us to the *liaison* of the King with Mary Boleyn, and gives good reason for his opinion that it took place *after* her marriage with Carey. To this influence may be traced the steady flow of honours to Sir Thomas Boleyn between 1522 and 1525; and finally, he pertinently and skilfully asks, "Is it not possible that in his selfish greed he may, when his elder daughter had lost her attraction for the King, have sought to maintain his power by the means of the charms of the other?" *i.e.*, Mary Carey. All through this clever pamphlet are suggestive facts pointed out; and as it concludes with a quotation from Mr. Friedmann, that "the history of Henry's first divorce and of the rise and fall of Anne Boleyn has yet to be written," we would suggest that Mr. Round himself should undertake this task. No one could do it better; and it wants doing.

A true and most dreadful discourse of a woman possessed with the Devil, who in the likeness of a headlesse beare fetched her out of her bedd, and in the presence of seueral persons most straungely rouled her thorow three chambers and doun a high paire of staiers on the fower and twentie of May last, 1584. At Ditchet in Somersetshire. Imprinted at London for Thomas Nelson. Edited by ERNEST G. BAKER. (Weston-super-Mare: Robbins, 1886.)
8vo., pp. ii-13.

We quite agree with the editor of this curious tract that it is in every way serviceable to reprint and bring to light these rarer tracts as evidence of the thoughts and beliefs of the people in the sixteenth century. The title explains fully the nature of the contents, and it only remains for us to say that the facsimile reprint before us is to our way of thinking a valuable addition to the library of the curious, and is likely in its turn to become as scarce and valuable as a book rarity.

Ancient Rome in 1885. By J. HENRY MIDDLETON. (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1885.) 8vo., pp. xxvi-512.

We think it is matter for considerable congratulation that the author of this important work should have been appointed Slade Professor of Art at Cambridge. Mr. Middleton's long stay in Rome, and the deep and systematic study he has given to the remains of classical workmanship there, are shown on every page of his book; and we venture to affirm that no excuse is

when he adds the result of the study of ancient authors to the researches of the spade and the pickaxe, we feel pretty confident that what has been told in this conveniently sized volume embraces all, or nearly all, there is to say on the subject. Two points of some importance seem to have been established by Mr. Middleton. One is, that the Romans did not develop the principle of the arch, using on the contrary a mass of concrete to create their enormous domed roofs; and the other is that the Etruscans were probably of more

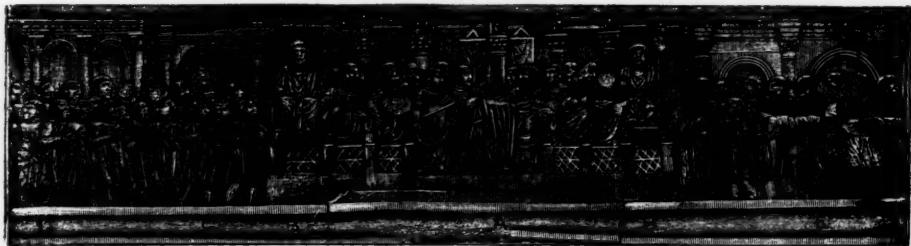


ROMAN BATH, FROM AN ANCIENT WALL PAINTING.

needed for the appearance of yet another volume on this subject.

Mr. Middleton commences by giving an account of the building materials and methods of construction by the ancient Romans; and he then proceeds to take us through the wonderful remains on the Palatine Hill, the Forum Magnum, the Capitoline Hill, the imperial fora, the places of amusement, amphitheatres, baths, temples and other remains, tombs and monuments; and finally deals with the water supply and the con-

influence in early days than the Latin race. On this subject he says: "Most important of all in its relation to the early history of Rome has been the discovery of a large Etruscan necropolis on the Esquiline Hill, which implies the existence at a very remote period of a great city of the Rasena, highly advanced in culture and technical skill in all the minor arts of life—a serious blow to the long-established tradition of the early supremacy of the Latin race in the city of the seven hills."



RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

struction of roads. In all these chapters there are plans and maps and other illustrations to guide the reader, and we must draw attention to the singular importance of the plans which accompany this volume. Particularly we must mention a map of modern Rome, showing existing ancient remains; a map of ancient Rome; and a plan of the Forum Magnum, showing the most recent discoveries.

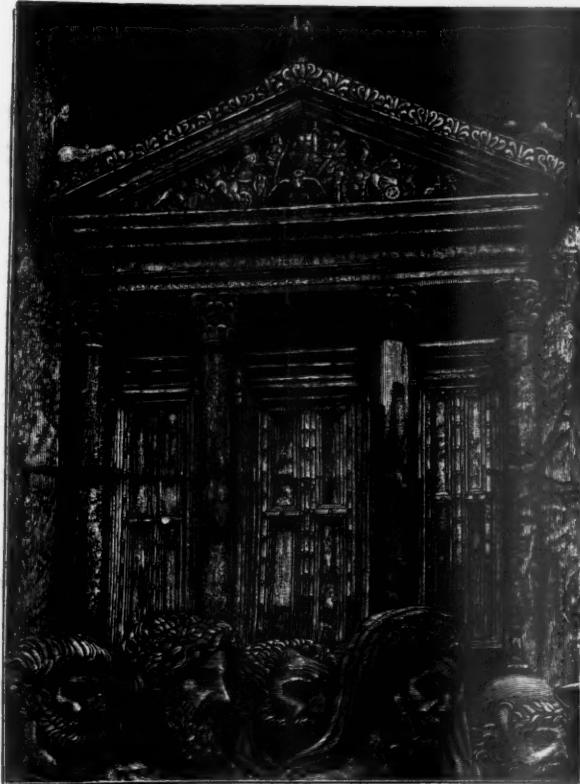
This brief summary of contents will give some little idea of what Mr. Middleton's work is. He was an excavator long before he took the pen in hand, and

It is impossible to deal in a review with the whole of Mr. Middleton's book, and as few subjects interest us in England more than the remains of Roman baths found here, we will turn to the chapter on Baths. By the kindness of the publishers we are able to reproduce the illustration of a Roman bath from an ancient wall-painting (Fig. 1.). This painting was found in the Thermae of Titus. The first room shown is the *Elethesium* or room for anointing with oil and perfumes. The whole skin of the bathers was covered with olive oil, which was then scraped off with

a sharpstrigil. The *Frigidarium* is shown next, and then the *Tepidarium* with benches against the wall. This is heated by a hypocaust. The next two rooms are called *Concamerata Sudatio* and *Balneum*, both heated by furnaces and hypocausts. The last room contains three bronze cisterns to supply cold, tepid and hot water. This very interesting picture serves as a guide to Mr. Middleton for the description of existing remains, and we thus get an exhaustive account of what the baths of ancient Rome really were.

This very curious object is of surpassing importance for the proper understanding of the Roman Rostra.

We have only space for one more illustration, and this is a relief (Fig. 3) from the arch of Marcus Aurelius, giving a good representation of the front of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It is shown with only four columns. The three gold-plated doors of the *Celle* are represented, and the sculpture in the pediment is shown with much minuteness, as are the three chief deities in the centre, and others on each



RELIEF ON THE ARCH OF MARCUS AURELIUS.

The second illustration which we have chosen is that of a relief (Fig. 2.) on the arch of Constantine, which represents the Rostra with a number of standing figures, and in the centre Constantine addressing the people. At the extreme ends are two coloured seated statues. The balustrade along the top of the platform is carefully shown with its break in the centre. In the background appear on the left of the spectator some of the arches of the Basilica Julia, next the arch of Tiberius; in the centre five columns with statues on them; and on the right the triple arch of Severus.

side. A richly designed row of bronze *antefixa* runs up the slope of the pediment; on its apex is a quadriga, and there are remains of other groups at each angle of the gable.

From such materials as these, rich as remains of classical Rome, and richer still in the evidence they give to modern inquirers of the meaning of the ruins now extant, Mr. Middleton has laboriously built up his excellent work. And although we can only pretend to have given a slight idea of its interest, there is sufficient to indicate that it has thrown some fresh light

upon a subject that is of almost undying interest to students of the history of Europe.

Grimm Centenary: Sigfred-Arminius and other Papers.
By G. VIGFUSSON and F. YORK POWELL. (Oxford and London: Clarendon Press, 1886.) 8vo., pp. 93.

Jacob Grimm was born on 4th January, 1786, and this book reminds English students of the important fact in biographical history. Mr. Vigfusson tells in a charmingly simple way the story of his visit to Grimm in 1859, and we get a picture of the scholar and his library such as is seldom to be met with. Then come the papers which make up the volume. The first seeks to prove, and we think successfully, that the Sigfred of tradition may be identified with the Arminius of history. Then follow papers on the "Defeat of Varus;" "Place of the Helgi Lays;" "Place of the Hamtheow Lay;" "Two Latin Law Words;" "The Ballad of Sir Ogis;" and "Traces of Old Law in the Eddie Days."

Perhaps the latter paper is the most generally instructive and useful, and we recommend it strongly to those who are engaged in the study of archaic history. It will be recognised that the contents of this volume well fit in with the object it has in view, and we can affirm that each paper is worthily and ably written. Our northern literature is a subject of great interest to many, and the notes afforded by this volume will be most useful.

The White Horses of the West of England, with Notices of some other Ancient Turf Monuments.
By REV. W. C. PLENDERLEATH. (London and Calne: A. R. Smith.) 8vo., pp. 41.

Many will be glad to get this too short account of an interesting group of English antiquities, and the unpretending little volume before us will no doubt be eagerly welcomed. It is the substance of an article printed some years ago in the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, and contains illustrations of seven turf-cut monuments. The drawing of the Cerne giant, we may remark, is not complete, and the legend quoted from Britton differs from one given in the preface to the fourth volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, which was obtained on the spot. We should like to see the legends of these curious monuments collected and printed, and would suggest to Mr. Plenderleath that he should undertake the task.



Meetings of Antiquarian Societies.

Society of Antiquaries.—Feb. 4.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. J. P. Rylands exhibited, by permission of Mr. H. A. de Colyar, a massive gilt bronze ring of Pope Paul II. (1464-1471).—Mr. Peckover exhibited a small MS. codex of the Greek Testament, c. 1100, with illuminations of the four Evangelists.

—Mr. C. D. E. Fortnum exhibited the seal of Cardinal Andrea de Valle, 1517, which he fully described, comparing it in its artistic character with bronze casts from three other seals of approximate date made for cardinals of Leo X.'s creation.—Lord Justice Fry read a paper, by Prof. Chandler, on the value of Court Rolls, pointing out their great interest and the necessity for their better preservation. The professor's paper concluded by appealing to the Society of Antiquaries to take some steps to instruct the possessors of these documents how great is their value, and how and where they may best be preserved.—A discussion followed, in which Lord Justice Fry, the President, Mr. Stuart Moore, Mr. Gomme, and others took part. It was finally resolved that the Society should take some such action as that indicated by Prof. Chandler.

Feb. 12.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—The Rev. J. T. Fowler exhibited an iron spear-head, with traces of gilding, found during excavations on the site of the chapter-house at Durham in 1874.—Mr. Ready exhibited a magnificent set of silver parcel-gilt plates, with London Hall-marks for 1567-8, engraved with the labours of Hercules, probably by Peter Maas.—Mr. F. G. H. Price read a paper "On further excavation in the Roman Station at Silchester," describing all operations up to date.

Feb. 25.—Mr. J. Evans, President, in the chair.—Mr. Franks exhibited mediæval silver-gilt paten from Hamsterley, Durham, with sexfoil depression, containing the vernicle in the centre. The paten bears the London hall-marks for 1519-20.—Mr. T. F. Kirby exhibited a mediæval silver parcel-gilt paten from Wyke, near Winchester. This paten has an engraved figure of the Agnus Dei for central device, within an octofoil depression, with fine floriated spandrels.—Mr. W. H. St. John Hope assigns to this paten a date *circa* 1280, and pronounces it to be the oldest piece of church plate in actual use now remaining in England.—Mr. F. J. Mitchell exhibited a hitherto unknown, but veritable example of a rood which anciently stood on the rood-loft in the church of Kemneys Inferior, Monmouthshire. It was found some thirty years ago, with a quantity of bones and rubbish, in the blocked-up rood staircase. Only the head and trunk, with the arms and one foot, remain, the remainder having decayed away; but these are fairly perfect.—Mr. H. Norris exhibited a number of antiquities discovered at Ham Hill, including Roman fibulae, mediæval ornaments, etc.—Mr. J. C. Robinson exhibited some interesting examples of Byzantine art.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson exhibited a curious flat candlestick, hall-marked for 1705-6, given by Col. Gledhill to the Carlisle Company of Gloves, 1710; also a silver salver, given by the same gentleman to the Carlisle Company of Shoemakers, 1710.

Archæological Institute.—Feb. 4.—Mr. R. P. Pullan in the chair.—The Rev. J. R. Boyle read a paper "On the Crypt of St. Wilfrid's Church, Repton," in which he disputed the statement that the Danes destroyed the monastery, and contended that the crypt and chancel are of early Saxon date.—Mr. P. Harrison gave a description of a remarkable find of "sun-beads" at Minster, and explained the method of their formation.—Mr. J. Saunders exhibited through Mr. Hartshorne an oil picture of the east side of the cloisters at Westminster, a picture showing, with much

excellence of drawing, the walled-up entrance of the Chapter House as it appeared about 1700.—Mr. Ready sent a large picture of Chester, of about the same period.—Mrs. Kerr laid before the meeting some drawings of rude-stone monuments in Servia, possibly prehistoric.

Asiatic.—Feb. 15.—Col. H. Yule, President, in the chair.—Prof. Sir M. Williams read a paper “On Buddhism in its Relation to Brahmanism.”

Society of Biblical Archaeology.—Feb. 2.—Mr. W. Morrison, V.P., in the chair.—Mr. W. Simpson read a paper “On the Tower of Babel and the Birs Nimroud: Suggestions as to the Origin of Mesopotamian Tower Temples.”—A paper was read by M. E. Lefèvre, “Le Cham et l’Adam Egyptiens.”

Anthropological Institute.—Tuesday, Feb. 9.—Mr. Francis Galton, President, in the chair.—The President read a paper on “Recent Designs for Anthropometric Instruments.”—Prof. A. Macalister read a paper on a skull from an ancient burying-ground in Kamtschatka; and Dr. J. G. Garson read a paper on “The Cephalic Index.”

Philological.—Feb. 5.—Rev. Prof. Skeat, President, in the chair.—Mr. Whitley Stokes read a paper entitled “Notes on Curtius’s ‘Greek Etymology,’ 1879.”

New Shakspere.—Feb. 12.—Dr. F. J. Furnivall in the chair.—The Rev. W. A. Harrison read a paper “On William Herbert and Mary Fitton in connection with Shakspere’s Sonnets.”

Royal Society of Literature.—Feb. 24.—Sir Patrick de Colquhoun (President) in the chair).—A paper was read by Mr. R. Davey on “Victor Hugo as a Dramatist.”

British Archaeological Association.—Feb. 3.—Mr. G. R. Wright in the chair.—Mr. Loftus Brock exhibited a collection of ancient engravings of German and Flemish towns, mostly of sixteenth century date.—Mr. de Gray Birch described two stones now at Valetta in the possession of Mr. Strickland, who brought them from Asia Minor. They are covered with Phoenician inscriptions hitherto unpublished. Etton Church, Northants, was described by Mr. J. T. Irvine by some well-executed drawings.—Mr. E. Way reported the discovery of a series of brick arches, the basement of a portion of the Duke of Suffolk’s palace, in the Borough, Southwark, which were revealed during some works of rebuilding on the site. A large number of fragments of pottery were exhibited, but these indicated the earlier occupation of the site by some Roman building, since they were of Roman date.—A paper by Mr. Syer Cuming on an ancient Roman *turbo* was read. It is formed of hard bone, and had been painted green, and was found in the Roman Station at South Shields.—A paper was read by the Rev. C. Collier, on the remarkable excavations now in progress at Winchester Cathedral under the direction of the Dean.—An old record of ancient earthworks at Alfriston and Wolstonbury was read, prepared by Mr. A. Cope.

Geographical.—Feb. 8.—The Marquis of Lorne, President, in the chair.—The paper read was “Sketch of the Physical Geography of Brazil,” by Mr. J. W. Wells.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Feb. 8.—The Rev. G. F. Browne, President, in the chair.—

The President made a communication upon “Some Early Sculptured Stones and Symbols in Ledsham Church, Yorkshire.” All Saints’ Church at Ledsham, a few miles east of Leeds, was carefully restored some years ago. The original building was rectangular and lofty, with a Romanesque arch at either end, the one leading to an apse, the other to what is now the base of the tower, and was probably a *porticus ingressus*. The northern wall was pierced later, to form an arcade for the addition of the north aisle. The outlines of all the original Romanesque windows in the north and south sides are clearly visible. There is a similar opening above the western arch; as there is at Monk-Wearmouth. A low, narrow doorway on the south side of the base of the tower had been closed up. When it was opened out, the capitals of the jambs were found to be ornamented with interlacing work, the bands unusually narrow and in high relief; the patterns on the two capitals are different, and though the known varieties are counted by hundreds, both of the patterns are new. Up the sides and round the head of the doorway a band of ornament, seven inches wide, is let into the wall. The original had perished so much that it was removed and restored, but the portions which have been protected by the accumulated soil remain, and they bear members of a singularly graceful scroll with flowers and fruit; there were probably thirty of such members on twelve or thirteen lengths of stone. In the more recent north wall of the aisle two beautiful fragments of a like band, or of the shaft of a cross, eight inches wide, are used as building materials. One of these has a pair of interlaced birds feeding on the fruit of two scrolls, which spring from conventional roots; the other is a graceful and new variety of the continuous scroll, with four heart-shaped leaves meeting at the centre of one member, and four tendrils interlacing in the next. On a stone in the apsidal wall, at the point where it leaves the east wall of the nave, is an almost perished incised symbol, which had escaped the keen eyes of the restorers, formed of a capital S three times repeated, the head of each hooking into the tail of another, forming a sort of triangle, with curved sides of four inches. It is startling and suggestive to find this symbol, cognate with the three legs of Man and of Greek shields, and found in Hibernian and “Pictish” work, in a Yorkshire church on the borders of the ancient kingdom of Elmete. On a stone in the west wall of the nave, within the church, a weapon which is either a chopping-knife or the head of a one-barbed lance, is cut in bold relief.—Mr. Rule summed up his communication upon Eadmer’s elaboration of the first four books of the *Historia Novorum*.—Mr. C. C. Moore Smith exhibited five books, all of them in the handwriting of Mr. John Hall, of Kipping, at Thornton-in-Craven, Yorkshire. The writing was remarkably clear, though for the most part very minute. Mr. Hall was born about 1630, and lived some ten years into the next century. In religion he was a Presbyterian of the party of Baxter, but besides he had studied medicine and astrology, and he had acquired a system of shorthand. One of the books exhibited was a medical work completed 1661, and apparently ready for press, though as there is no copy in the British Museum, it seems not to have been printed.

March 1.—A communication by Mr. W. L. de Gruchy was read in his absence by the Secretary, upon the Land-measures mentioned in the early records of Jersey, in which he showed that *virgata* (in French *verge*) is always used as a *rood* (and never, as in England, in the extended sense of "yardland" also), though containing 40 perches of 484 square feet, whereas the English perch contains only 272½ square feet. The relief due to the lord of the manor on the death of a "roture" holder was shown to be XII *denarii* (one *solidus*) *per acram* in the case of *terra viventes culturae subjacentes*, and only VI *denarii* for *terra silvestres, que in Normania mortuæ dicuntur*.—Mr. Lewis exhibited and commented on one large and two small terra-cotta lamps discovered in a barrow at Kerch (the ancient *Panticapeum*) in November, 1885.—The Rev. W. Graham F. Pigott gave an account of the site of a Roman veteran's holding at Abington Pigotts in the county of Cambridge, from observations made during the excavation of coprolite from 1879 to 1884. About eight chains less than half a mile nearly north of the parish church of Abington Pigotts, County Cambridge, there is undulating ground; in fact, a slight hill trending east and west which, during the period mentioned in this heading, has been turned over for the purpose of excavating the coprolite under it. From a perusal of Mr. F. Seebohm's *English Village Community*, and from personal investigation and observation during the works in question, he concluded that it was without much doubt a retired Roman veteran's holding of some 25 Roman *jugera*, or about 20 of our present acres before the land was dug over. A ditch filled with black earth mixed with débris of pottery and bones was cut through during the working on the *west*, but *no* ditch was found on the *north*: on the *east* there is still a ditch. The land is pasture (possibly has been so ever since the Romans left the district), and therefore is more easily traced than an old ditch on arable land. On the *south* for some distance there was evidently, at the time of occupation, and most likely much later, a morass, judging from the deposit of mud dug through, and from the fact of there being no coprolite in that distance. In fact, at the time the Romans were in England a great portion of this valley was under water, and consequently required little protection in the shape of trenches from beasts of prey or from robbers except in boats. At the village of Litlington, distant 1½ miles, is the site of a Roman villa. Possibly a commander or officer built or occupied the same, and sent one of his veterans to occupy the highest ground northward of the neighbouring valley; for the hill lies about midway between the Croydon Hills and the Royston Downs, and in those days was doubtless nearly as fertile as at present, and therefore to be desired for agriculture. Be that as it may, many are the evidences of Roman habitation on this same hill, and more especially attention might be called to holes used for domestic purposes (*vide* Wright's *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 215, London, 1875).

Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.—Feb. 18.—At the anniversary dinner, the Rev. Preb. Scarth in the chair, Mr. Scarth made some remarks on the recently discovered altar-stone, and stated that his interpretation of the figures differed somewhat from that of Mr. Sayce.

Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.—Feb. 15.—The chair was occupied by Mr. W. Bolitho, jun. (President).—The following papers were read:—"Marazion," by Mr. R. N. Worth; "The Solomon Islands," by Mr. Guppy, R.N.; "Ghost Story," by the Rev. W. Colenso, of Napier, New Zealand; "An Old Cross," by the Rev. S. Rundle; and "Plants and Animals," by Mr. Ralfs. The cross to which the Rev. S. Rundle referred had been discovered by him at Chy whole, where it had been acting as a gate-post. It was presented to Mr. Rundle by Mr. F. V. Hill, steward to the Duke of Leeds, on whose property it was found, and Mr. Rundle intends having it placed in Godolphin Church. The Chairman spoke strongly in favour of the preservation of ancient monuments, and proposed that £1 of the society's funds be voted for the removal and fixing of the cross, which was agreed to.

Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.—Feb. 27.—Dr. Bruce presiding.—The Secretary (Mr. Robert Blair) read papers by Dr. Bruce, on "A small Roman Altar from Magna"; by Mr. James Clephan, on "William London, Newcastle Bookseller"; by Mr. James Clephan, on "Coal Mining in Old Gateshead: Explosion in the Stony Flatt."—The Rev. J. R. Boyle read a paper on "St. Edmund's Chapel, Gateshead."—Some valuable and interesting gifts to the society were announced and cordially acknowledged.

Leeds and Yorkshire Architectural Society.—March 8.—Mr. Connon in the chair.—An address was given by Mr. G. Aitchison, on "The Neglect of Architecture in the Present Day." Mr. Aitchison said, that in England architecture was looked upon now in a very different way from what it was in the seventeenth century. Now the finest buildings never excited admiration, and as often as not were used as texts to introduce abuse of architects and a depreciation of the architecture of the day. The ways in which the public could outwardly show its yearning for their art were by its publicly expressed praise of successful works, by indicating how or in what parts the building conformed to its ideal, by an ardent desire to secure the very best possible building, by admiration for the architect, by discriminating praise of the particular excellence of his work, by rewarding him with consideration, honours, and wealth. In 1295, the Florentine Republic, a little city with a small territory, determined to rebuild its cathedral, and gave instructions that it should be built "so that for size and magnificence nothing more could be desired." England was supposed to be the richest country in the world, and was the centre of an empire on which the sun never set. It had lately held a competition for a vast building, in which the defences of the empire were to be organized, and the instructions were that "convenience of arrangement was all that was to be considered." One great want of the present day was a high aim. Hitherto architects had been contented to copy. At the end of the last century they only gave up copying Roman to copy Greek, and though this was to advance enormously in art, it was to retrogress in construction; and in this century they had taken to copy Romanesque and mediæval. Among all the sciences and the other arts, architecture alone seemed to have the peculiar faculty of standing still. They were constantly forced to ask themselves why barbarous, semi-barbarous, and civilized nations of former

days had styles that they in the present day thought good enough to copy. It seemed obvious that modern architects were pursuing wrong methods.



The Antiquary's Note-Book.

Lost Books.—Strabo's *Historical Memoirs* and *Continuation of Polybius*. The *Supplices* of Æschylus is the commencing drama of a trilogy on the subject of the "Danaïdes"—*Ikeridæc, Alyptirioi, Δαναïδæc*. Welcker, *Griechisch. Tragodien*, vol. i., p. 48: the two latter are lost. The old epic poem called "Danaïs" or "Danaïdes," which is mentioned in the *Tabula Iliaca*, as containing 5,500 verses, has perished, and, unfortunately, is very little alluded to. (Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, i., p. 121.)—The adventures of Tyrô formed the subject of an affecting drama of Sophocles, now lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 148.)—The story of Jason and Medea was contained in one of the earliest dramas of Euripides, the *Πλειάδæc (Peliades)*, now lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 159.)—The lost drama of Sophocles, called *Iobates*. (*Ibid.*, p. 167.)—The *Πλευρώναι (Pleurhoviai)*, a lost tragedy of Phrynicus. (*Ibid.*, p. 198.)—The sufferings of Æneus (who was deposed by the sons of Agrios, and fell into extreme poverty and wretchedness, and his restoration by his grandson Diomèdæs, were the subjects of a lost tragedy of Euripides. (*Ibid.*, p. 208.)—A lost tragedy of Euripides, on the story of Augê and the birth of Télephus, called *Augê*. The *Mwoi* of Æschylus, and two lost dramas, *Ἀλεάδæni* and *Mwoi*, of Sophocles. Télephus and his exploits were much dwelt on in the lost old epic poem, the *Cyprian Verses*. (*Ibid.*, p. 243.)—The subject of Kokalus, the Likanian King, receiving Minos of Crete (to deliver to him the person of Dædalus) with apparent friendship, and ordering a bath to be prepared for him by his three daughters, who, eager to protect Dædalus at any price, drowned the Cretan King in the bath with hot water, formed the subject of a lost drama of Sophocles. (*Ibid.*, p. 308.)—Sophocles composed two tragedies on the adventures of Jason and Medeia, the *Κολχidæc* and the *Εκύθæi*, both lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 325.)—Asclepiades of Myrlea, in Bithynia, about 170 B.C., composed a periegesis of the Iberian tribes, which unfortunately has not been preserved. (*Ibid.*, p. 337.)—The compositions in the Boeotian dialect of Pindar are unfortunately lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 349.)—Lysimachus, a lost author, who wrote *Thebæica*. (*Ibid.*, p. 352.)—The adventures of the Argô were narrated by Eumelius and the author of the *Nanpactian Verses*, but the poems are unfortunately lost. (*Ibid.*, p. 317.)—Many histories of Egypt were written at different periods, by native as well as foreign authors, which have unfortunately been lost. (Sir G. Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, vol. i., p. 20.)—The two ancient epic poems called the *Thébaïs* and the *Epigoni* (if indeed both were not parts of one very comprehensive poem) detailed these events, the disputes of Eteocles and Polynicæs for the throne of their father, Ædipus. Of this once valued poem we unfortunately possess nothing but a few scanty fragments. (Grote's *Greece*, vol. i., p. 364.)—There is hardly anything more to be deplored, amidst the lost treasures of the Grecian mind, than the poems

of Solon, for we see by the remaining fragments that they contained notices of the public and social phenomena before him. (Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii., p. 118.)

Spinster.—The Records of the County of Essex show that this word was used as a designation of gentility and honour in Elizabeth's time. The numerous Elizabethan presents of persons, for non-attendance at church or any other usual place of common prayer, yield testimony that, besides being employed for the description of single women who had never married, the title was retained as an indication of their parental quality by wives and widows. For instance, "Margareta Tirrel spinster, *alias dicta* Margareta Tirrel uxor Thome Tirrell armigeri," and "Maria domina Petre de Westhorndon, co. Essex, spinster, *alias dicta* Maria domina Petre uxor Johannis Petre de Westhorndon predict' militis," are amongst the gentlewomen presented for non-attendance at divine service in 23 Elizabeth; and a writ of 7 Elizabeth gives the name and style of "Joan Lambe widow of London spynster."—*Hist. MS. Commission, Tenth Report* (1885), p. 27.

A Court Lady's Wardrobe in 1603.—In the tenth report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, the Commissioners state that in one of the papers of the Earl of Eglinton's collection there is afforded a glimpse of a Court lady's wardrobe in the year 1603. This account begins with an entry dated the 9th of June at Newcastle. The lady enumerates various articles of female dress—head-dresses, French and English "rouffs" and their materials, "quahall-bon" bodies, "vardingells," etc. Among other items is a payment for "ane vyer to my haed with nyne pykis, xs.; item for ane perewyk of har to couer the vyer, vs." For "ane treming to my gown with gret hornis of gould and silk and federis, the hornis my auen xs." (all sterling money). She pays on an average 2s. 6d. for a pair of gloves, and the same sum for a pair of shoes; for a pair of night gloves, 9d.; for a beaver hat with feather and string, 5s.; for two fans, one of paper and the other of parchment, 5s., etc. She pays in Coombe for two necklaces of black jet, 3s. For the washing of her own and her page's clothes from June to Martinmas, she pays only 2s.

Custom of Shaving.—The shaving of the upper lip is one of our customs which we may trace to the Normans (see *Malmsbury*, 100; *Theery*, ii. 147), though it seems that in the time of Edward II. the higher orders let their beards grow to an immoderate length (see the Scots' account of them, *Vestig. Anglican*, by Clark, ii. 145).

London in 1773.—"The City of London is full of lamps at night, and the watch is set at eight o'clock, and continues till the morning light. The Watchmen in London are the most insignificant creatures I ever saw. Some of them are scarcely able to walk; a great number of them are old superannuated persons, who can only sit in a box and look at those who pass by; and if there is any truth in reports, there are a number of them kept in pay by the ladies of the town. Those who keep good hours in London are in no danger; as for others, they must abide the consequences."—*The Travels of the Imagination: A True Journey from Newcastle to London in a Stage-Coach*, by J. M. (1773), p. 113.

Woman's Dress in 1607.—In a sermon preached at Whitehall at the nuptials of Lord Hay and his lady, on 6th January, 1607, the preacher, Robert Wilkinson, says: "Of all qualities a woman must not have one qualitie of a ship, and that is too much rigging. Oh, what a wonder it is to see a ship under sail, with her tacklings and her masts, and her tops and top-gallants; with her upper-decks and her nether-decks, and so bedeckt with her streamers, flags, and ensignes, and I know not what; yea, but a world of wonders it is to see a woman, created in God's image, so miscreate oft-times, and deformed with her French, her Spanish, and her foolish fashions, that he that made her, when hee looks upon her shall hardly know her, with her plumes, her fannes, and a silken vizard, with a ruffe like a saile, yea a ruffe like a raine-bow, with a feather in her cap like a flag in her top, to tell, I thinke, which way the wind will blow." This curious extract is given by Beloe, in his *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, iii. 162.



Obituary.

HENRY STEVENS, F.S.A.

Mr. Stevens was born at Barnet, in Vermont, U.S., on the 24th of August, 1819, being the son of Henry Stevens, the first president of the Vermont Historical Society. In 1845 he came to London with good recommendations, made the acquaintance of the principal booksellers, and one day "drifted" into the British Museum (as he was fond of saying). It had been ascertained that the Museum was in 1845 woefully deficient in modern American books. Mr. Stevens aided them in filling up these deficiencies, the result being that the British Museum now contains a more extensive library of American books, says the *Athenaeum*, than any single library in the United States. Mr. Stevens, while thus engaged in book-selling, was continually putting forth some *brochure* or another on bibliographical subjects. He formed a large collection of documents relating to Franklin, which was purchased by the American Government. In 1852 Mr. Stevens was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1877 he was conspicuous as a member of the committee for promoting the Caxton Exhibition, and joined with Mr. Blades, Lord Charles Bruce, and others in cataloguing the various exhibits, Mr. Stevens taking the department of Bibles.

In 1877 Mr. Stevens became a member of the Librarians' Association, and took a prominent part in the annual gatherings of that body.



Antiquarian News.

In Egypt a curious sculpture has been found, representing a chariot drawn by two horses and containing three persons. The principal figure is a bearded man,

lifting his right arm and holding a bow in his left hand; behind him is a beardless slave, bearing an open fringed parasol or umbrella; to his left is the charioteer with the reins and whip. Sir Gardner Wilkinson has engraved a representation of an Ethiopian princess travelling through Upper Egypt to Thebes, in whose chariot a large umbrella is fixed to a tall staff or pole, which rises from the middle of the chariot, the whole arrangement being very similar to the carriage umbrella of the present day, or resembling still more closely the large umbrella of the London Metropolitan Railway omnibuses.

The well-known Egyptian scholar, Mr. Le Page Renouf, one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, has been selected to succeed the late Dr. Birch as Keeper of Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum; and Mr. A. Stuart Murray, an assistant in the department of Classical Antiquities, was appointed to fill the post of keeper of that department, vacated by the retirement of Mr. C. T. Newton, C.B.

A large number of human bones and skulls has been discovered at Sherborne, Dorset, during some excavations which are being made. The remains were embedded in lime, and were found about 3 feet below the surface.

A singular discovery of gold coins has been made at Park Street, a little village on the southern borders of Bedfordshire, and has been reported to the Treasury. A man in the employment of Mr. Boff, carpenter and builder, was engaged splitting some old oak beams, when in the centre of one of them he came upon a cavity out of which rolled a number of bright coins. The hole had been neatly formed, and was circular in shape, having apparently been drilled into the wood, and it was fitted with a plug to conceal it. On further search being made, another hiding place of the same kind was found, also containing treasure. The coins, which number over a hundred, consist of nobles, angels, and half-angels, and vary in date from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Henry VIII. They are in excellent preservation. Some of them bear the figure of St. Michael, others a ship with a cross for a mast, and all have Latin inscriptions upon them. The largest coins are about the size of half a crown, and the smallest resemble a sovereign. It is not known at present where the beam in which the treasure was found came from, as Mr. Boff has recently pulled down several old farm-houses and other buildings in the neighbourhood.

An interesting discovery of bronze hatchets and other warlike instruments has been made at Llantwit Major, Glamorganshire. A number of workmen were engaged digging up a foundation for building, when they came upon three spearheads, six hatchet-like weapons, and several other interesting relics, which were concealed under an ancient wall; some bones were also discovered. The whole matter is under investigation, and a further search is being organized.

The *Times* correspondent at Rome reports a discovery of high interest from historical, architectural, archaeological, and other points of view. He states that a few days ago the workmen, while dressing the left perpendicular side of the cutting, which passes

near the remains of the Emporium, laid bare the front of an ancient tomb, facing exactly on the line. It is perfect in every respect, except the cornice, which is wanting. It stands at a depth of some 20 feet below the modern level, embedded in the solid mass of accumulation, which rises above the upper part of it full 10 feet. As seen now, it looks like part of a fine architectural panel, set into the cleanly-dressed side of the trench. It is of rectangular construction, measuring as it is about 9 feet in height by 15 in length; the dado being formed of four courses of tufa blocks, standing on a projecting base, with finely wrought mouldings. In the middle of the face is a single block of travertino, about 3 feet in length by 2½ high, bearing an inscription, and on each side of it five lictor's *fasces*, wrought in bas-relief on the tufa blocks. The inscription reads :

SER. SULPICIUS. SER. F.
GALBA. COS.
PED. QUADR. XXX.

This Sergius Sulpicius Galba, son of Sergius, must have been the same who was Consul in the year 144 B.C., together with L. Aurelius Cotta, and grandfather of the Sulpicius Galba who was sent by Caesar at the opening of the Gallic campaign in 58 B.C. against the Nantuates, the Veragri, and the Seduni, and who was great-grandfather to the Emperor Galba. Sergius, who was eventually the occupant of this monument (which, judging from its materials and style of construction alone, might be attributed to a still earlier date, and which, according to the last line of the inscription, occupied a space measuring 30 square feet), received Spain as his province during his Praetorship in 151 B.C., and committed unheard-of atrocities against the Lusitanians. He was wealthy and niggardly, except when bribery and corruption required an open hand; but, on the other side, his memory is distinguished by the high praise which Cicero bestowed on his talent as a speaker, in calling him the first among the Romans whose oratory was what it should be. He was still living in the year 138 B.C., when he spoke for the Publicani; but that is the last record we have of him.

Since the discovery of the supposed reliquaries in the inner wall of the south choir aisle of Peterborough Cathedral, they have been visited by numerous people. The belief expressed by some people that the recesses when re-opened will prove to be aumbrys, is more than ever entertained, and the Dean and Chapter, taking this view, believe little purpose will be served by at present proceeding with the exploration. There is little doubt that they are of twelfth-century work and were attached to an altar which was evidently done away with, or its position changed, at the construction of the apse. They are the oldest, possibly, in the entire fabric, as they are situated in the most aged part of any of the Norman work of the venerable pile. The opening of them to view is awaited with interest; but it is expected that until the cleansing and restoration of the whole of the interior of the Cathedral is proceeded with, further exploration will not be made. The fragments of bones found have caused some amount of controversy, but the doubts expressed at the time as to their being human have been pretty generally confirmed.

The large and valuable collection of manuscripts which have lain for one or two centuries at Leven's Hall, Westmoreland, has recently been examined. Among the documents are a number of great historical interest, including several letters written by James II. at the time of his abdication. They were addressed to Colonel James Grahame (the descendants of whom at present live at Netherby, the scene of the recent daring burglary). Grahame was keeper of the Privy Purse, and accompanied James in his memorable flight from London to Rochester, in 1688. One of the most valuable of the documents is the original draft (in the King's handwriting) of the manifesto which James issued from Rochester, giving his reasons for withdrawing from his country. The first letter written by James after arriving in France is also among the collection. James appears in this correspondence under the name of "Mr. Banks," the name of the steward at Leven's at that period, and France is referred to as "Oxford." Thus, the first letter written by the King on quitting England is endorsed "Mr. Banks' first letter after his going to Oxford." It is as follows :—"Boulogne, January the 4th, 1689 (new style).—I arrived safe here this day, and have but little to say to you at present but that I am going on to Paris, from whence you shall heare from me when I arrive there. In the meane tyme go to my corispondent that payd you some mony upon my account, and put him in mind of putting the rest of the mony I bad him put into your hands, that you may retурne that, and what you had of myne in your hands, to me as soone as you can, I having present occasion for it, and pray remember me to your friends with who I was to have been, if I had stayd. Lett me know a little newse." A small piece of paper headed "My Oxford Cypher" gives the key to the secret parts of some letters from abroad. The correspondence in cypher is bulky, the letters being couched in most quaint and curious language. There are also contemporary notices of the battles of Blenheim and Ramillies. The Duke of Hamilton (who fought the celebrated duel with Lord Mohun, in which both combatants were killed) expresses his political sentiments in a series of letters to Colonel Grahame, and Bolingbroke contributes three characteristic letters. One of the papers, dated a few months after the accession of William III., gives an account of 108 red deer brought over from Germany by order of the Prince of Orange, and for which £117 was paid by Colonel Grahame to Thomas Howard, a yeoman of the Toyles. An amusing letter from the Duke of Hamilton to Grahame states :—"The proceedings with you about our affairs are above my comprehension. They put me in mind of what I have heard of the Peace of Ryswick, when it was said that it was like 'the peace of God, which passes all understanding.'" Colonel Grahame died in 1730, in his eighty-first year.

The remains of an ancient Roman city have been found near Nantes. The foundations of numerous villas and of a theatre containing five thousand places, and numerous trinkets and pieces of pottery, have been discovered, together with a Roman road to Loire, and a large hippodrome.

The early Christian mosaics and frescoes in the Kahrié-Djemil Mosque at Constantinople, which had

remained hidden under whitewash since the storming of Constantinople in 1453, have recently been brought to light and carefully photographed. A detailed price list of the photographs may be had on application to Mr. D. Nutt.

One of a row of thatched houses at Alloway, of which the birthplace of Robert Burns is one, was recently burnt to the ground. The house was the end one of the row, and fortunately the wind, which was very strong, was blowing from the other end, thus carrying the fire away from the other buildings. But for the lucky circumstance that the wind was blowing from the direction it was, the other cottages would have certainly fallen a prey to the fire; and, with the wind as it was nearly all last week, blowing from the opposite direction, Burns's Cottage would have been a thing of the past, for there are no means nearer than Ayr for extinguishing a fire of these dimensions. The incident shows that precautions require to be taken for the safety of a piece of property of the high public value and sacredness of the birthplace of the Scottish national poet.

The Dean of Winchester has this month performed an act in the Cathedral that will command the approbation of every man of taste or lover of our national historic monuments, viz., the replacing in the choir of the massive marble-covered tomb of William Rufus. This monument of the Red King was originally placed, in the year of his death, 1100, under the Norman tower over the choir; and, according to the chroniclers, the tower fell because of his profanity and unhallowed exit from the world, but doubtless from imperfect construction. After this event the tomb was removed nearer to the high altar, and there remained for centuries, till, in 1868, on the untenable ground of inconvenience of access to the communion-table, it was removed to the aisles of De Lucy. The Dean has now had it replaced exactly under the massive Norman tower, its first place; and thus the tower and tomb commemorate, the one the munificence of Bishop Walkelin, the Conqueror's cousin, and the founder of the Norman Cathedral, and the other the Conqueror's son, Rufus. Rufus's brother Richard is also buried in the choir, in a niche of the partition walls; and his nephew, Henry de Blois, the first founder of St. Cross Hospital, and brother of King Stephen, by Adela, the Conqueror's daughter, lies under the pavement near, rolled up in lead, and without any monument to mark the spot.



Correspondence.

THE SURNAME OF FRENCH.

[*Ante*, p. 97-100.]

May I be allowed respectfully to protest against the theory as to the origin of the above name that has been advanced in the columns of the *Antiquary*? No genealogist is likely to be led astray by it; but the general public might easily be misled, if so erroneous a proposition were to pass unchallenged.

When Playfair attempted, in his gigantic *Baronetage*, to assign to the surname of every baronet a perniciously ingenious origin, he derived Smith from "Smeeth—a level plain," but was fairly baffled by Baker. To that surname, he confessed, he could assign no possible origin.

So with the name of French (*Francus*). Nothing is more obvious or more certain than that it belongs to the same class as English (*Anglicus*), Norman (*Normannus*), etc., etc. Why, then, endeavour to derive it from the wholly distinct surnames of *De* (or *Des*) *Frênes* (*De Fraxinis*), *De Frenai* (*De Frasneio*), *De Frenac* (*De Fraisneio*), etc., all of them proved (by the *Rot. Scacc. Norm.*) to be derived from "locations" in Normandy? The leading authority given for this derivation is the astounding one of Sir Bernard Burke, followed by the, if possible, more worthless one of D'Alton. Such a form as "*De Fraxinus*" (*sic*) is probably sufficient for most people as to the value of such hypotheses, but it is necessary to insist on the self-evident difference of such names as "*le French*" and "*de Freigne*" (which are among the forms quoted by the writer). It is, of course, impossible to assert that, in special cases, the names may not, in later days, have been confused; but that they were radically distinct in origin is beyond human ingenuity to deny.

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

MAIDEN LANE.

[*Ante*, vol. xii., pp. 68, 134, 182, 231, 278; xiii., pp. 39, 86, 135.]

My remarks in this matter were intended to be particular, not general. I did not by any means wish to raise the question as to the derivation—Celtic or otherwise—of the word "Maiden" at any other place than Maiden Lane, Covent Garden. I do not profess to have anything but a very humble acquaintance with etymology; but as I earn my daily bread through Middlesex topography, I may reasonably be supposed to know something about that.

I shall probably have an opportunity shortly of seeing what light the Bedford archives throw on the subject, and may therefore perhaps trouble you again.

Mr. Foster appeals to Mr. Round on the general question. Another Essex antiquary seems rather on the other side. In the last number of the *Essex Archaeological Transactions*, which reached me about a week ago, is a very interesting and able paper on "Colchester Castle," by Mr. F. M. Nichols, F.S.A. He mentions a street there called Maidenden Street, and adds in a foot-note, "I am told that the name 'Maidenburgh' is found elsewhere associated with ancient earthworks. Was it the old English name of the castle (the castle of the midden or mound) before the Norman keep was built?"

Here is clearly a suggestion of Anglo-Saxon, not Celtic, derivation.

J. C. L. STAHLSCHEIDT.

Balham, 1st December, 1885.

The full form Maiden, as illustrated in Maiden Bower, Dunstable, and Maiden Castle, Dorchester, is best got at by recognition as a compound from the

Celtic *magh*, a field or plain, and *dinas, dune, don*, a hill fort.

The Gaelic *magh* is equated with the Welsh *maes*, having the same meaning, as shown in Maes-Knoll, Maes-mawr, Maes-y-Garmon, in Flintshire; as illustrative of the Celtic *magh*, I claim Armagh, but this is disputed; also Machaire, Magherra in Down and Derry, Maghery in Armagh, Magh-Rae, Balmaghie, and Magherra-more; which last pairs off with Maes-mawr cited above.

These forms, *viz., maes, magh*, may be connected etymologically with Latin *margo*, a border, the Teutonic "mark," now so increasingly interesting to our antiquaries. It is of necessity here to note that the lost Roman station, south of London, called Noviomagus in the *Antonine Itinerary*, may thus mean "new field," or "new mark," according as to how the Romans used the word "magus" in their transliteration; for here we must recognise the "Mark," so persistently preserved at Keston, adjoining the astounding earthworks now enclosed in Lord Derby's grounds at Holwood Hill. As a support to this attribution, so dear to the genial and festive Noviomagians, we must note the continental Noviomagus, now Speier or Spires, in Bavaria. These Nemetes are called a Germanic tribe; so here we are probably dealing with the Teutonic *mark* rather than the Celtic *magh*.

There are, however, other origins for the place-name "Maiden," as used in Great Britain, thus:

Maiden Lane is common; see also Maiden Causeway, Inverary; Maiden Way, Appleby, Gilsland, Shap. It may, in some cases, equate the term Lover's Walk.

I have records also of Maiden Castle at Arbroath, Rosslyn, Kirkinch, Kirkcaldy, Falkland, Wooler Durham, Brough on Stamford, Tilton, Richmond, Yorks, as well as at Dorchester. There are Maiden Bowers at Kirklington and Dumfries, as well as at Dunstable. Maiden Ring, Cramond; Dance Maidens, Cornwall; Maiden Stone, Brecknock and Gariock. Here, in some cases, we are dealing with fays or fairies, but some must be from the feminine maid—virgin; so "our Lady." Maidenkirk, Stranraer; Maiden Newton, a dedication to St. Mary; Maid's Moreton, Bucks, attributed to two ladies named Peover; Maid's Well, *i.e.*, Lady Well; Maiden Paps, at Hawick, Latheron, Dull—this is purely physical.

I do not like to leave this subject without a reference to Margidunum, *i.e.*, Bingham, Notts, which may be the Celtic *magh*; again, Magiovintum, or Magiovinium, found in the *Antonine Itinerary*, for Dunstable, is obviously the primitive *magh* found in Maidenbower, adjoining that town.

A. HALL.

MARAZION.

It seems a pity our old smaller boroughs are deprived of their charters. None more deserved to retain its privilege than Marazion. The corporation have held a quiet, inoffensive, and blameless existence, and the borough records and plate are (as you notice in December number) of great interest. What practical men may regard of more importance is that the town is rising; and having about the mildest climate in

Great Britain, might, by expenditure of a little capital, be made an important health-resort.

W. S. LACH-SZYRMA.

WHITSUN ALES.

[*Ante*, vol. vii., p. 34.]

In 1883 I gave an extract from Dunkin's *History of Bicester* (1816), illustrating the survival and the character of the Whitsun ales. I now supplement it by an allusion to the Whitsun ales at Redburn, in Hertfordshire, from Mr. Urwick's valuable *Nonconformity in Herts* (1884). From the charges brought (1589) by Mr. Innocent Reade against the Puritan minister of the parish, Mr. Dyke, we learn that:

"The inhabitants of Redburne had at the feast of Whitsuntide a neighbourly meeting or feast in the church-house of the said parish, where they have made merry together to the maintenance and increase of love and charity amongst them, and at the same time have contributed liberally their money towards the reparation of the church and buying of necessaries for the church and such like uses (as of ancient time the like hath been used in that place, and many other places of this realm to the uses and intents above mentioned). The said Dyke having a great dislike of the said feast or meeting, hath in his sermons inveighed against that kind of feasting, calling it profane, riotous, drunken and disorderly—yea, the way unto perdition and hell" (p. 291).

Mr. Dyke's rejoinder (1597) as to "the Whitson ales" is that:

"These are in their origin bad; they are shamefully abused, having in them piping and dancing, and Maid Marian coming into the church at the time of prayer and preaching to move laughter with kissing in the church, and they justly deserve to be called profane, riotous, and disorderly" (p. 107).

Mr. Urwick's authority for these passages, which it will be seen, are of great interest, is "*Burghley Papers*, 1589; *Lansdowne MSS.*, 61; *Plut.*, lxxiv., E. fol. 75."

J. H. ROUND.

Brighton.

Can any of the readers of the *Antiquary* inform me what has become of Gainsborough's "Boy at the Stile"? It is mentioned in the following extract, from, or reference to, Smith's *Life of Nollekens*, where he relates that Nollekens once found Barthélémon playing exquisitely on his violin to Gainsborough; and the artist exclaiming: "Go on, go on, and I will give you the picture of the 'Boy at the Stile,' which you have so often wished to purchase of me." Barthélémon proceeded, and the painter stood in speechless admiration—tears of rapture running down his cheeks at Barthélémon's incomparable Adagio.

Barthélémon, having finished, called for his carriage, and carried the picture away with him.

It is supposed to have been sold at Barthélémon's death in 1808.

Having a portrait of the celebrated violinist by the more famous painter in charge as an heirloom, I would be glad to learn what has become of the "Boy at the Stile."

S. V. H.

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